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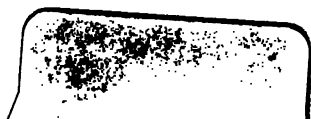
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LIVES
OF
ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED
IRISHMEN,
FROM
THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT PERIOD,
ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER,
AND EMBODYING A
HISTORY OF IRELAND IN THE LIVES OF IRISHMEN.

EDITED BY
JAMES WILLS, A.M.T.C.D., M.R.I.A.,
Author of *Letters on the Philosophy of Unbelief*, &c., &c., &c.

EMBELLISHED BY A SERIES OF HIGHLY-FINISHED PORTRAITS, SELECTED FROM
THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES, AND ENGRAVED BY EMINENT ARTISTS.

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MDCCCXL.





*Jonathan Swift D.D.
Dean of St. Patrick's Dublin*

Copy by J. D. from an original painting in St. Patrick's



*Francis Rawdon
Marquis of Hastings*

Designed by J. P. Knowles

LIVES
OF
ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED
IRISHMEN.

Miles Bourke, Viscount Mayo.

DIED A. D. 1649.

OF the ancestral history of the family of Burke, Bourke, and de Burgo, common variations of the same illustrious name, we have said enough in these pages. The nobleman whom we are here to notice was the representative of the MacOughter branch. It is known to the reader, that near the middle of the 14th century, William de Burgo, earl of Ulster, was assassinated by his own people. His countess, with her infant daughter, took refuge in England. The possessions of the earl were left unprotected. In the north they were seized by the O'Neiles; in Connaught by two collateral descendants of the De Burgo race. To escape a future demand of restitution, these ancient gentlemen, embraced the laws and manners of the surrounding septs of Irish, and assumed the names of MacWilliam Eighter and MacWilliam Oughter. Of these, the latter, and we suspect the other also, were descendants from the second son of Richard de Burgo, grandfather to the murdered earl.

The viscount of this family, whom we are now to notice, demands this distinction on account of the very peculiar and unfortunate circumstances of his history. He sat as viscount Mayo, in the parliament of 1634. When the troubles of 1641 commenced, he was appointed governor of the county of Mayo, conjointly with viscount Dillon. By virtue of the authority with which he was thus intrusted, he raised six companies of foot, and during three months kept the county in a quiet state without any aid from government.

As, however, it was not long before the convulsions in England threw a cloud of uncertainty upon every question at issue between parties; the rebels were soon divided into factions, each of which contended, and was ready to fight for the shade of loyalty or of opinion maintained by itself. It is not easy now to settle with precision, by what strange course of previous politics, or from what reasons of right, real, or supposed, the lord Mayo acted in direct opposition to the

principles, on the understanding of which he had been employed. Many of the circumstances are such, indeed, as to ascertain a feeble, uncertain and complying character; and indicate a degree of timidity and subservience, which it is necessary to assume as the most merciful excuses for unprincipled compliances, of which the result must have been foreseen by a little common sense, and guarded against by an ordinary sense of duty.

The accounts of the dark and bloody transactions in which this nobleman's name has been implicated, have been considered worth re-statement by Lodge,* with a view to clear his memory from the unjust imputation of having been a party to their guilt. From such a stain, we can have no doubt in declaring him free; but our voice must be qualified by some weighty exceptions.

The approach of the rebellion was early felt among the remote and wild mountains and moors of the county of Mayo. The condition of the peasantry was poor, their manners barbarous, and their minds superstitious: their preparations for the coming strife were rude, and being under comparatively loose restraint, but little concealed. Early in the summer of 1641, their smiths were observed to be industrious in the manufacture of their knives or skeins, well known as an ancient weapon of the rudest Irish war. And these rude implements were soon to be employed. The time quickly came, and the work of plunder and destruction began. As the incident here to be related is one of the most memorable which disgraces the annals of this period, and has been made the subject of much comment with which we cannot concur, we shall preface it by a few brief remarks to recall to the reader's mind that the principle upon which we have hitherto endeavoured to frame our statements, has been to give the facts as they have occurred, with an entire disregard to all uses which have been made of them. If we admit that the crimes of lawless and ignorant barbarians, which is the unquestionable character of the lower classes of the 17th century, may indirectly be imputed to the *cause* of which they were the instrument, yet we do not assent to the further implication that those atrocities can be charged directly to the principles of that cause or, (unless in special cases), to its leaders and promoters. One distinction will be found to have a general application, and may be adopted to its full extent; the conduct of the actors in the multifarious and complicated maze of crime, suffering, and folly, which is to occupy the chief portion of this volume, will be observed to be conformable to the personal characters of the agents, and not to any abstract principles or special dogmas. In this we do not mean in any way to vindicate the soundness of these supposed opinions, but simply to maintain that so far as our assertion is applied, they are utterly unconcerned. We do not mean to say that they who could place the

* We are unwilling to find fault with Lodge, or indeed (knowing as we do the difficulties of our history) with any writer on the score of confusion. But on this as in many other instances, we have had reason to lament the perplexity of arrangement which renders it hard to mould a clear narrative from his statements. In the long note from which we have drawn the facts of this memoir, there is a disregard to the order of events, such as to give a strange confusion to a narrative written in clear and simple language, and full of strong facts.

assassin's knife in the hands of lawless men, for the purpose of maintaining any principle, are to be acquitted: the truth of God is in higher hands—than those of the assassin. But we are far from assenting to the zeal, which for the sake of effect, would charge the worst falsest tenets with the crimes of men who would have sinned in the defence of the best and truest: the impulse, in whatever principle it originates, is propagated from its centre by means of the natural love of adventure, spoil, and lawless indulgence, common to those who have nothing to lose, and little but the fear of law to constrain them. Whether the zeal of opinion, or party animosity, move the centre—whether the cause be righteous or unjust—if its partisans be low, rude, and unimpressed by moral restraint, it is but too sure to be maintained by demonstrations, by which the soundest cause would be dishonoured;—robbery, murder, and the wanton cruelty of the passions and lusts of the most base and depraved minds: for it is unhappily these that float uppermost in such times. On this, we are here anxious to be distinctly and emphatically understood: often as we are, and shall be compelled to repeat accounts, which have been as the battle-fields of parties, contending in rival misrepresentations, and anxious as we are to stand aloof from the feelings by which the narratives on either side are more or less tinged; and at the same time to state these facts which we regard as inductive examples in the history of man, fully, and as they appear to our indifferent reason. We find it expedient to accompany them with the precaution of our most guarded comment. We cannot agree with those writers, who have manifested their desire to be held liberal by useless attempts to qualify, misrepresent, and understate such facts as have an irritating tendency: neither do we concur with those bold and zealous assertors, who are desirous to make them bear more than their full weight of consequence. Had such been silent on either side, the truth would be an easy thing, and the comment straight and brief. We, for our part, reject the statements of the first, and the heated and precipitate inferences of the latter: so far as they are directed to convey reproach to the general character and principles of action of their antagonist party.* We cannot assent with some of our fellow-labourers in the mine of Irish history, (a mine of sad combustibles,) that the most fierce and inhuman outrages were not committed by the peasantry in the name of their church and creed; but we are just as far from imputing the murders and massacres of an ignorant and inflamed populace who knew no better, to any church or creed. The insane brutality of O'Neile, the fiend-like atrocity of MacMahon, are no more to be attributed to a religion (in which they had no faith,) than the monstrous and profligate crimes of Nero and Caligula are to be imputed to the religion of Brutus and Seneca. We do not here mean to deny, or in any way to advert to any direct charges against the church of Rome as a church: with the effects of a fanaticism we are also well acquainted. Neither of these form the *gravamen* of

* We do not mean to disclaim party opinion in our individual person. But as editor of these Lives, we are earnestly desirous to keep self out of view. Whatever we may *feel* under the influence of these excitements, of which the world is composed, it is our desire and study to repress it, in the discharge of a duty of which impartial justice is the end, and indifference the principle.

the alleged imputations: the massacres of 1641, committed, as crime is ever but too likely to be committed, under holy pretences, and in duty's name, were committed by miscreants, whose actual impulses were neither those of religion or duty. Moore committed neither robbery or murder: nor Mountgarret or any of the noble lords and gentlemen whose various motives led, or impelled them to take up arms in the same cause. But when the whole lives, the recorded declarations, the preserved correspondence, and the well-attested courses of conduct of the leaders in crime are viewed; and when the state of the people is considered, it will be easy to see that they would have done the same in the name of Jupiter as for the Pope; for the creed of mercy as for the church of Rome. One more last word, and we shall proceed: we would remind many of our humane and philosophical contemporaries, that nothing is gained by attempting the charge of exaggeration, when the statements do not very strongly justify such a qualification: if thirty were butchered, the crime was just the same in degree as if it had been a hundred—having been only limited by the number of the victims exposed to the mercy of popular fanaticism. The reader will we trust excuse these tedious distinctions, as a preface to facts that demand them.

The rebellion in the county of Mayo commenced with the robbery of a gentleman of the name of Perceval. He brought his complaint to lord Mayo, and sought that redress which was to be looked for from one of the governors of the county. Lord Mayo marched out to recover the property of this complainant, whose cattle had been driven away and lodged within a mill near Ballyhaunis. This building the robbers had fortified, and while his lordship was considering what to do, he was visited by messengers from an armed rabble, who had collected at a little distance, with the avowed design of supporting the robbers in the mill. Several messages passed between them, and we are compelled to assume, that his lordship, on due consideration of his forces, found himself not prepared for a more spirited course: he "granted them a protection," a proceeding which each of the parties seem to have understood in a very different way. The crowd on this came forward, and mingled among his lordship's followers, "with much shouting and joy on both sides;" and no more is said about the mill and the property of Mr Perceval. In the midst of this motley concourse, his lordship next moved on to the abbey of Ballyhaunis, where the whole were entertained for the night. The friars of this abbey had been deprived of their possessions in the former reign: and on the first eruption of disturbance in the kingdom, a party of friars of (we believe,) the order of St Augustine, had returned to take possession of an ancient mansion of their order, which the approaching revolution that they expected, would, they hoped, enable them to secure. Altogether different in principles, opinions, and public feelings, from the secular clergy of the church of Rome, these men had no home interest in the community, with whom they had no relations: they were the faithful and unquestioning instruments of a foreign policy, and if they had any individual or private object at heart, it was to secure their newly acquired possession. These were not the persons most likely to act as moderators in the outset of demonstrations on the

course of which their whole dependance lay. They are in general terms accused of taking the occasion to aggravate the impulse by the excitement of the people. We see no reason to dissent from this statement, but we think it fair to add that the deponent from whose testimony the accusation is made, was precisely under those circumstances of terror and alarm, when small incidents assume a magnified form, and reports exaggerated by alarm carry fallacious impressions. To this consideration we must refer the inference by which Mr Goldsmith seems to have connected the hospitality of the friars with the general increase of violence. By their instructions, affirms the deponent, Mr John Goldsmith, the people "then broke forth into all inhuman practices, barbarous cruelties, and open rebellion." It is however plain, that this incident was a consequence of the practices of which it is assumed to be a cause. The rebellion in its progress had reached them, and such was its beginning in that county. From this time the violence of the country people of the surrounding country became wild, unrestrained, and dangerous to all but those who were their counsellors and abettors.

Mr John Goldsmith, from whose deposition the following particulars are mainly drawn, was a protestant clergyman, the incumbent of the parish of Brashoule. From the disturbed state of the country, of which his narrative contains a frightful picture, he was early compelled to seek refuge under the roof of the noble lord here under notice. His statement, though neither as full or clear as we should desire, is especially valuable for the authentic insight which it affords into the character and true circumstances of his noble protector, and for the lively glimpse which it presents of the terror and distress, which the lawless state of the country impressed on every breast and propagated into every circle. The interior view of the family of Belcarrow, may, we doubt not, stand for many a trembling family and home beleaguered by fear and apprehension. Lord Mayo is himself represented as "miserably perplexed in the night with anxious thoughts." His lordship was, we have every reason to infer, a man of honour and humanity, but of that unfixed principle and ductile temper that takes its tone from the reflected spirit, or the influence of harder and firmer minds. He had the misfortune to be drawn by opposite feelings and in different directions. The menaces, flatteries, reproaches, and representations of the crowd and of their leaders, had a strong effect on his naturally ductile and feeble mind: rebellion raged all round, and her thunders and gay promises, her lofty pretensions and high-breathing illusions, formed an atmosphere without his gates, and met him wherever he went: within the walls of his castle he was surrounded by a protestant family, who were zealous and earnest in their faith; his lady, like all true-hearted women, was thoroughly in earnest about her religion, and by her authority and influence maintained the same spirit in a large household. At the time that this narrative refers to, the family of Belcarrow was augmented by several protestant fugitives, of whom the principal were Mr Gilbert and Mr Goldsmith, both clergymen, with their wives and families, besides several of the protestants of the neighbouring country, who in their general alarm found at Belcarrow, a compassionate host and hospitable board,

and the free exercise of their religion, at a time when, according to Mr Goldsmith, it had nearly disappeared from every other part of the county. Thus collected by fear, the situation of this family was one of the most anxious suspense; they lived under the excitement of daily rumours of the most terrifying description, and were harassed by frequent though vague alarms. Of these, an example is given by Mr Goldsmith. One night the family, thus prepared to draw alarming interpretations from every noise, or terrified by some frightened visitor's report of the doubtful appearances of night—when fancy hears voices, and bushes can be mistaken for robbers—was thrown into a causeless fright, and every preparation was made against an immediate attack: his lordship marched out with his men to meet a force, which we are strongly inclined to think, he did not expect to meet. Such was happily the fact: his lordship had the honour of a soldier-like demonstration, and his good family were quit for the fear.

They had however to endure more substantial and anxious alarms. Every thing in his lordship's deportment was such as to suggest fears of the liveliest description to all those who had either honour, conscience, or safety at heart. It was wavering and undecided; his intercourse with the people betrayed the uncertainty of his mind, even to those without, and must have been but too evident to those who surrounded his board. To this company their noble protector often complained of the deserted condition in which he was left by the government, to whom he had, he said, appealed in vain. His lordship was at the time anxiously halting between two opinions, the rebels were looking for his adherence, and his family were nightly expecting an attack upon the castle: the people saw their strength, and said that he should side with them; negotiations were kept up, and still deluding himself with notions of duty, and with questionable compromises, this weak lord fluttered as a bird under the fascination of the serpent; and flirted with sedition till he fell into the snare.

Among the curious indications of this course of his lordship's mind, we are inclined to set down a proposal which he is stated by Mr Goldsmith to have discussed with himself and others of his own household: which was no less than to take the rebels into his protection; and as he was neglected by the state, avail himself of their services in behalf of his majesty: a policy afterwards under altered circumstances, adopted by wiser persons than lord Mayo. Against this singular method of resisting rebellion, Mr Goldsmith protested; and his lordship put the proposition in another form equally creditable to his statesmanship and knowledge of mankind; he expressed his design "to subdue those of Costilo by the men of Gallen, and those of Gallen by the rebels that lived in the Carragh." On this important design he sent to Sir Henry Bingham, and requested a conference at Castlebar. The state of the country did not permit the meeting, but lord Mayo sent his plan in writing, which was signed by Sir Henry and others: a fact which shows the state of alarm in which they must have been at the time.

It was immediately after this that the inmates of his lordship's house began to notice proceedings from which the more natural results of such demonstrations were to be inferred. His lordship, no doubt desirous to

be right, could not help reversing the poet's reproof, "too fond of the right, to pursue the expedient;" he took the course which it would perhaps have required a stronger spirit to avoid; and while he talked of resistance and the king's service, was under such pretexts daily contracting deeper affinity with the parties who involved his path on every side with a well-spun entanglement of menace and flattery. At this time "Mr Goldsmith perceived motions towards popery in his lordship's house; popish books of controversy were sent him; and Laughlin Kelly, the titular archbishop of Tuam, came and reconciled his lordship to the Roman church."

In the midst of his compliances, which were too evidently the result of feebleness and fear, lord Mayo evidently preserved some sense of what was due to his rank and the cause he had thus abandoned. It was, perhaps, the delusion with which he flattered himself, that the influence he should thus acquire over the people might enable him the better to protect the protestants, and the members of his own family: the illusion was humane and amiable, and may be set down to his credit. In this he was destined to be sadly undeceived.

It was while the protestant family of lord Mayo were in this state of harassing uncertainty, and the circumvallations of fear and artifice were daily drawn closer round their walls, that his lordship heard of the shocking and brutal abuse which Dr John Maxwell had received from a rebel leader, into whose hands he had been betrayed by a treacherous convoy. Lord Mayo, on learning of the circumstances, wrote a reproachful letter to the rebel, whose name was Edmund Bourke: and gave him to understand, that he would treat him as an enemy if he should hesitate to deal fairly with the bishop who was put into his hands under the pretence of conveying him on with his company, of whom several were the clergy of his diocese. On this, Bourke, who had no notion of leaving his own purposes for the bishop, brought him with his family, and left him within sight of lord Mayo's castle. He was taken in and treated with all the care and hospitality which was to be expected from the persons, and under the circumstances, and for a few days Dr Maxwell found himself among friends and fellow-christians: he had with him his wife, three children, five or six clergymen, and a numerous train of domestics, which the habits of the day required, and the apprehensions of danger perhaps increased. They remained ten days. Of course the bishop must have been anxious to reach home, and must have felt a natural reluctance to task the kindness of his host much longer with so heavy an addition. But it was now become a matter of serious danger to cross the country in the state in which it was known to be.

In this embarrassment, it seems natural that any occasion would be seized upon to forward the bishop's wishes: and an occasion was soon found. Edmund Bourke was still besieging the castle, when a letter from Sir H. Bingham caused lord Mayo to march out against him with all the men he could command. Bourke, whose object was not a battle with armed men, and his lordship, who was perhaps no less prudent, came to an agreement, that Bourke should give up his designs upon Castlebar, and agree to convoy the garrison, with the bishop and his party safe to Galway. Bourke agreed, and the matter was soon

arranged. The parties to be thus convoyed, had to be collected from Castlebar, Kinturk, and from his lordship's castle, and were to be brought together to the village of Shrule, from which they were as soon as convenient to be delivered up to the safeguard of Edmund Bourke, to escort them to Galway. Lord Mayo, with his son, the unfortunate Sir Theobald Bourke, at the head of his lordship's five companies, accompanied them from their several quarters to the village of Shrule, and did not leave them during their stay in that place. Lord Mayo cannot indeed, on this occasion, be accused of the wilful neglect of any precaution or care: he not only remained in the village, and slept with the bishop, but obtained from the titular archbishop of Tuam a strong promise to send with the convoy a letter of protection, and several priests and friars to see them safe in Galway.

It was on the evening of Saturday the 12th of February, 1641, that his lordship, with the bishop's family, occupied the house of serjeant Lambert at this village. The village was filled with their companions, the several parties and his lordship's soldiers, and felt heavily the burthen of providing for such numbers. So that, though the following day was Sunday, a strong entreaty was made that they should travel on, by the principal persons of the surrounding barony. Lord Mayo now dismissed his companies, and made such preparations as he could for the ease and security of the travellers: he made his son and others of the party dismount, and left his own servant, Edmund Dooney, a five pound note for the bishop, to be delivered when he should part with them at Galway fort. The convoy, commanded by Murrough na Doe O'Flaherty, and Ulick Bourke of Castlehacket, awaited the party a mile from Shrule, at a place called Killemanagh: and thither they now set out, accompanied by a party of lord Mayo's men, but commanded at the moment by Edmund Bourke, who was brother to the actual captain. The hour was far advanced towards noon, when Bourke and his men had come out from mass, and all were ready to start. The way to the nearest halting-place was ten miles, and Bourke earnestly pressed them to get forward.

Lord Mayo was hardly out of sight, and the travellers had but cleared the bridge of Shrule, when a sudden and violent assault was made upon them by their perfidious guards. There was no struggle except to fly, and that was too confused to be successful; nor, in the hurried and random tumult of the slaughter, where every individual was compelled to mind himself or what was nearest where he stood, was it possible for any one to carry away a precise description of the scene of butchery which then took place. From the depositions of individuals a few incidents are collected, and these probably describe the remainder. When the bridge was just passed, a shot was fired from between the bushes, whereupon Edmund Bourke drew his sword, and the examinant rode back to the bridge with the bishop's child behind him, when he was charged with pikemen, but was rescued by Walter Bourke MacRichard MacThomas MacRoe, who drew his sword and made way for him. "Some," to use the language of depositions, "were shot, some stabbed with skeins, some run through with pikes, some cast into the water and drowned; and the women that were stripped naked, lying on their husbands to save them, were run

through with pikes, so that very few escaped.”* The bishop was wounded in the head, the clergymen in his company were slain, except one, a Mr Crowd who was so severely beaten that he shortly died. The number slain is stated to have been sixty-five, and we see no reason to doubt this statement. In such cases, it is to be granted that exaggeration is to be suspected, but it is as likely at least on the side of those who seek to extenuate a crime, as on the part of those who stand in the place of accusers. And we should observe, that although the loss of one life more or less, must practically be a matter of most serious moment, nothing is gained in the point of extenuation; the crime of murder does not increase and diminish by numerical proportion. The point is frivolous; but it is fair to state that the Roman catholic gentry of the surrounding district, affirmed that the number slain was not above thirty. It is more satisfactory to us to be enabled to state, that the Roman catholic gentry of the country came forward to the aid of the few who escaped from that hideous scene, and that they brought them to their homes. Among the charitable persons who distinguished themselves in this pious work, none deserved a more grateful commemoration than “Bryan Kilkenny, the guardian of the neighbouring abbey of Ross, who, though an aged man, was one of the first that made haste to the rescue, and brought the bishop’s wife and children, and many others, to his monastery, where they were hospitably entertained, to the best of the friar’s ability, for several nights.”†

Lord Mayo, when he proceeded on his way, rode towards Conge; the house of his son, Sir Tibbot, and about six miles from Shrule. On the way he stopped at the house of a Mr Andrew Lynch, intending there to await the arrival of Sir Tibbot. He was about to dismount from his horse, when a horseman came up at full speed and gave him the information of this disastrous event. Lord Mayo, overpowered with horror and indignation, retired to a chamber, where he gave expression to the most frantic exclamations of his vexation and grief; he “then wept bitterly, pulling off his hair, and refusing to hear any manner of persuasion or comfort.” While he was in this state, his son, who had barely escaped with his life, arrived, and “with tears related the tragedy, but could not certainly tell who was killed or who escaped; but being demanded by his father why he would ever come away, but either have preserved their lives, or have died with them; answered, that when they began the slaughter, they charged him (having his sword drawn against them) with their pikes and muskets, and would have killed him, but that John Garvy, the sheriff of the county of Mayo, (who was brother-in-law to Edmund Bourke, the principal murderer,) came in betwixt him and them, took him in his arms, and, by the assistance of others, forcibly carried him over the bridge.” The deposition from which this extract is taken goes on to say, that lord Mayo having proceeded to Conge, took his bed for some days, after which he went, on the third day, to the house of the titular archbishop, where he conformed to the church of Rome—and heard mass. In two days more he attended a great meeting

* Deposition, Lodge.

† Dublin Penny Journal, vol. i. p. 258.

of "the county," we presume a meeting of the Roman catholic gentry and priesthood, at Mayo, and was "for ever after," says the deposition, "under the command of the Romish clergy." All the English in the county of Mayo followed his lordship's example, with the exception of his own household; who are enumerated, on the authority of Mr Goldsmith, by Lodge as follows: "the viscountess Mayo, the lady Bourke, Mrs Burley, Mr Tarbock, Mr Hanmece, Owen the butler, Alice the cookmaid, Mr and Mrs Goldsmith, and Grace, their child's nurse." The condition of these can be conceived. Mr Goldsmith was, by his lordship's permission, and by the lady's desire, allowed to minister to the spiritual wants of this small congregation, "shut in by fear on every side." As this gentleman, appears under these circumstances, to have exercised great zeal and boldness in resisting the new opinions which were attempted every hour to be pressed upon the family, he soon became the cause of remonstrance and reproach against his protector. Lord Mayo was reproved by the titular archbishop, already mentioned, for suffering him to exercise his ministry, and insisted that he should "deliver him up to them." "What will ye do with him?" says my lord. "We will send him," said the bishop, "to his friends." "You will," said my lord, "send him to Shrute to be slain, as you did others; but if you will give me six of your priests to be bound body for body for his safe conveying to his friends, I will deliver him to you." The bishop must have thought his six priests something more than lawful change for one protestant divine, and perhaps rated rather lowly the orthodoxy of his noble convert; he refused the compromise, and prevailed with lord Mayo so far, that Mr Goldsmith was compelled to be confined to a private part of the house, and kept in daily fear of being murdered. On Sundays he was allowed to officiate clandestinely for the servants, till at last lady Mayo summoned up firmness to insist that he should be allowed openly to read prayers and preach to the few protestants who remained.

Lord Mayo was appointed governor of the county of Mayo, and admitted as one of their body by the supreme council of Kilkenny. In this new dignity his lordship did no harm, and performed some good services to humanity. On one occasion he interfered effectually to prevent one of those frightful massacres of unresisting victims which is the disgrace of that period. "The clan Jordans, the clan Steevens, and clan Donells, came to Strade and Ballysahan, and gathered together all the British they found there, closed them up in a house, (in the same manner as had been done at Sligo, when a butcher with his axe slew forty in one night) with an intent that night to murder them; but notice thereof having been given to the lord Mayo, he prevented their wickedness, and preserved the poor innocent people from slaughter." At last lord Mayo discovered that the councils of rebellion could not continue to be participated in by the timid, the honourable, or the humane; that none could endure the spirit of atrocity that had been roused into action but those who shared its influence; and that without this recommendation, it was not possible to escape the suspicion and dislike of those who had themselves abandoned all the ties of civilization; he had not contaminated his conscience by partici-

pating in any voluntary act of rebellion, and at length he found resolution to break the sanguinary and degrading trammel, and made his escape in 1644 from the supreme council.

We have entered at greater length than it was our design into the notice of this nobleman, and the events in which the fortunes of his family were unjustly implicated by Cromwell's government. We felt that the best justice of history is the fullest view it can give of the conduct and character of the person whose fame has been made subject to question. Lord Mayo died in 1649; but his son, Sir Tibbot, or Theobald, was, in a few years after, tried for his life upon a most flagrantly unjust and iniquitous charge of having been concerned in the massacre at Shrute. The whole course of this unfortunate young nobleman had been notoriously opposed to the rebellion; his loyalty had been manifested in every way, and nothing had occurred to cast the slightest stain upon his honour. Nevertheless, in 1652, when the parliament sent over its commissions of justice to avenge the crimes of a deluded and uncivilized peasantry, on those who were, for the most part, forced accessories, or unwilling spectators, and a stern and extreme justice was administered on no better grounds than suspicion; and when honourable gentlemen could be attainted by miscreants who had themselves borne their share in all the iniquities of that hideous development of the baseness of human nature, then Sir Theobald Bourke, lord Mayo, for ten days stood his trial by a jury of undertakers, commissioned by a court of regicides. These gentlemen sentenced the unfortunate young lord to be shot—a merciful mode of execution—on the equitable principle, we presume, that he was known to be innocent. This equitable sentence, if so it was meant, was carried into execution, on the 15th of January, in Galway. It is mentioned by Lodge, that the soldiers appointed to shoot him, missed him three times; “but at last a corporal, blind of an eye, hit him.” The eyes of his judges had been less single than those of his executioner: his property of fifty thousand acres was forfeited by his attainder, and that of his father, who was at the time dead. And his son was, by the charitable consideration of the government, on his petition sent to a free school in Dublin; and would probably, had his own spirit and the affection of his relations permitted, in course of time been apprenticed out to some handicraft. He was, however, in some time sent for by his mother's relations, and lived to be restored to his rank and paternal acres.

This branch of the Bourke family is, we believe, extinct. The title has been revived in another line of the same name and race.

Sir Robert King.

DIED A. D. 1657.

THE family of Sir Robert King is found in connexion with our history, in the reign of Elizabeth, when his father, Sir John King, was rewarded for his services in the reduction of the native septs, with a lease of the abbey of Boyle, in the county of Roscommon. After which

he obtained several large grants in different parts of the country. He was at the same time possessed of an estate in England, in the immediate vicinity of Litchfield.

Sir Robert was knighted during his father's life, and held the office of muster-master-general, which his father, Sir John, had obtained in 1609, with a reversion to his son. In 1639 he represented Boyle in the Irish parliament.

When the troubles of 1641 began, he was appointed governor of Boyle castle, with an allowance for thirty-one protestant warders. He soon became conspicuous for his activity and military talent; and displayed a degree of skill, decision, and coolness, in the battle of Ballintobber, to which in a great measure the success of the president must be attributed. To explain the brilliant manœuvre, which so justly won for him the honour of the day, it will be expedient to take wider ground, and state particulars which cannot be better introduced in any other memoir.

The rebellion of 1641 had spread into the county of Roscommon, and there brought on the same series of wasting campaigns on a petty scale, and of desultory skirmishes, sieges, and house-blockades, of which so much of our details are composed. The O'Conors, the descendants of that ancient and noble family, which gave so many princes to Connaught, and monarchs to Ireland, still continued to hold scanty remains of their ancestral territories; and being divided into three distinct, and mostly hostile branches, dwelt on their estate in the district extending between Strokestown, Ratherohan, Roscommon, and Clonalis, (near Castlerea): of these the principal family was that of O'Connor Dhune, the elder and representative branch, to which in the lieutenancy of Perrot the estates had been regranted and formed into the barony of Ballintobber; while those of O'Connor Roe were similarly erected into that of Roscommon. Hugh O'Connor Dhune, had won the hostility of his countrymen, by siding with the English; and in 1590, was besieged in Ballintobber castle by Hugh Roe O'Donell. A cannon planted on the opposite hill made a breach in the wall, and the old chief seeing his danger surrendered at discretion. He was imprisoned by O'Donell, but after a few months, he was allowed to return home to the castle, where he died in 1632. His son, Callagh O'Connor, was of course compelled to take his part in 1642, and adhered to his countrymen and their cause. He collected a large force of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, and with these ventured to take the field against the English. For some time, however, he remained quiet in his quarters, discouraged it has been thought by the capture of his son,—but probably not the less inclined to resist the arms of the captors.

He was however soon incited to action by the miserable condition and consequent supineness of the English garrison, both few in numbers, and destitute of all necessary supplies. Notwithstanding these impediments, and the formidable array of Mayo men, which had poured themselves into Ballintobber, the president soon resolved to act on the offensive, and a council of English officers agreed upon a movement from Roscommon, toward that place. Drawing together all the men who (sick or well,) were in a condition to take the field, with the remains of

two broken regiments, they marched out, and took their way over the hill of Oran, which is perhaps about three miles from Ballintobber. On gaining the height they espied the enemy coming on rapidly and in great numerical force. This appearance was highly adapted to dishearten men broken by illness, want, and fatigue; and the lord-president, calculating on the courage, eagerness, and numbers of the army who were rapidly diminishing the distance between them, was inclined to retreat. His officers were of a different opinion, and the spirit of the soldiers was roused by the prospect of battle. They were weary of a sickly and starved repose, and feeling the desire of action, and the cheerful self-reliance of brave men, were urgent to be led against the enemy: the president found his opposition overruled, and declaring himself free from any blame from the result, gave the desired permission.

The enemy were so near as to frustrate the plan of battle array proposed by the officers: they could neither gain the ground which they wished to occupy, nor could they manœuvre very freely where they stood. The ground was a mixture of wet morass and heath, and the space between the armies small. The musketeers on the left of the English, and their main dependance for the attack, were prevented from firing down the hill on the approaching pikemen by the cavalry who were yet before them. To clear the way, captain King, on whose men, trained by himself, there was much reliance, was ordered to cross to the right, down the hill, along the narrow interval between both armies. Captain King had, among other dexterous and difficult manœuvres, taught his troop one which was of the utmost nicety, and therefore demanded the greatest nerve and coolness to execute; he had now a remarkable occasion to try their execution. He saw at a glance that it would not be possible to pass clear of the approaching torrent of pikes, so as to gain their left flank; and directed his men what to do. The Irish were within a few feet of their left man, when, suddenly halting, with a slight inclination of their line towards the enemy, the troopers of Sir Robert delivered a close volley over their horses' manes, and along their own front. The English musketeers had also commenced a sharp fire as the horse clearing from their front disclosed the opposite rank.

Sir Robert's fire had however a decisive and peculiar effect. A shower of bullets, poured together within the compass of a few yards, made a breach in the enemies' rank, and slew such numbers in that part of the line, that they were then thrown into irretrievable confusion. Sir Robert saw the advantage he had anticipated, and instantly charged into the amazed and confounded pikemen, and completely broke the left of their battle. They turned, and began to run, and the disorder spread up the hill. It was confirmed by a charge from Sir Edward Coote and colonel Povey. The flight was now so decided, that there was no further resistance to any of the numerous charges which were made. And the musketeers of the Irish, who had been outrun by the warlike eagerness of the pikemen, met these in their flight, and turned with them without having fired a shot. The pursuit was prompt, and the slaughter frightful. But the force of the lord-president was not equal to the furtherance of the advantage thus gained.

Soon after this, Sir Robert went to reside in London, and left his son in command at Boyle. In England he entered into the service of the parliament—on which, by the changes of events, it was easy to see that the cause of order and the present interest of the kingdom was dependant. He was soon employed in Ireland, and sent over with two others in 1645, as commissioners against the rebels.*

In 1647, he was one of the five appointed to receive the sword from the marquess of Ormonde. At this time he increased his estate, both by purchases and by lands taken in payment for arrears due for military service. From this too, we find his name occupying a prominent place in all commissions and trusts for the settlement and improvement of this country. He was one of the trustees for the university of Dublin. A trust into which we shall again more fully enter. And was also employed with the attorney-general in getting an inventory taken of the books of the herald's office, and such writings as it contained, and to secure them from official embezzlement.

To the year of his death he was employed in laborious and responsible charges, which appear to imply confidence in the talent and integrity of the person employed.

He died 1657, at his house in London.

Robert Dillon, Second Earl of Roscommon.

DIED A. D. 1642.

THE second earl of Roscommon was eminent for his zeal and fidelity in the troubled times of the rebellion of 1641. He was, in 1627, a privy counsellor, and from this date his name occupies a principal place in the several trusts and commissions, connected with the administration of government in this country. His personal influence is also largely indicated by the numerous privileges which he acquired in rapid succession: markets and fairs in several towns upon his ample property; grants of lands; and profitable licenses to sell wines and spirituous liquors, then commonly granted to persons of rank and property, though since confined to the tribe of publicans. In 1629 his lordship, then lord Dillon, and Michel, second son of lord Folliott, had a license "to keep taverns and sell all manner of wholesome wines, and to make and sell aqua vitæ by retail or in gross in the town of Ballyshannon." We cannot find whether the ancient town of Ballyshannon was graced with the gilded showboard of Dillon, Folliott, & Co., but it is easy to see in this circumstance the effect of change in the constitution of the times. Trade was fettered by monopolies, too lucrative to the holder, to be given to any but persons of the highest influence.

On 26th May, 1638, lord Roscommon was made keeper of the seal during the absence of the lord-chancellor; and in the following year he was one of the lords-justices, until the arrival of the earl of Strafford. After the departure of Strafford and the death of his deputy, the king, having been dissuaded from his own inclination to appoint the earl of

* Lodge.

Ormonde to succeed him, came to the decision to appoint lords-justices, and nominated Sir W. Parsons, and lord Dillon. A committee of the Irish house of commons which had opposed the selection of the earl of Ormonde, then made an equal opposition to that of Dillon, and on grounds precisely similar; a fact not discreditable to the latter. That lord Dillon had been on terms of close intimacy, and a strenuous supporter of Strafford, was among the avowed objections.

On Strafford's departure, a committee of the popular party was appointed to assist in his impeachment. They were strenuously opposed by lord Dillon, with the earl of Ormonde and other loyalists. By their influence Dillon was removed and Sir John Borlase substituted. In this instance the *vindicta Nemesis* seems to have performed her retributive round with more than her usual alacrity. The principal members of this committee, and the party which they represented, gained little by exchanging men like Ormonde and Dillon, for Parsons and Borlase. This committee consisted of the lords Gormanstown, Kilmallock, Costilo, and Baltinglass, with Sir Hardness Waller, Sir James Montgomery, Messrs Lynch, Burke, Browne, and other distinguished commoners. These lords and gentlemen, it is just to say, though of the party opposed to the king and to the English government and church as then constituted in Ireland, and though correctly speaking, to be classed as an opposition, whose aims were to a considerable extent different from those which they pretended; the common character of most popular parties; yet the grievances contained in their remonstrance are for the most part real and truly stated. And as they contain a pretty fair view of the defects and abuses of the Irish government, and of the state of the law as then existing, we shall take the first direct occasion to offer a full summary of its contents.

So far as regards lord Dillon, it is enough to say, that at first no reasons were assigned for objecting to him. The king demanded objections. A second petition declared the grounds: that lord Dillon had committed some people for selling contraband tobacco; had often been a referee upon paper petitions; and that his son was married to a daughter of the earl of Strafford's. The king expressed his dissent from these objections, but thought proper to give way.

At the eruption of the rebellion he was among the severest sufferers: his property falling almost all into the hands of the rebels. His stock amounting to 2500 sheep, and nearly 200 head of black cattle, was wholly destroyed by his tenantry. Lord Dunsany attempted to interfere and remonstrated with the miscreants; to his remonstrance they replied that they would not forbear, for though lord Dillon was as he told them an Irishman, yet he was a protestant.

Lord Dillon served as a volunteer in all the earl of Ormonde's expeditions, and was distinguished for his bravery, and the readiness with which he exposed himself to every personal risk. He succeeded to the earldom upon the death of his father, in 1641, but only lived to bear the title till August, 1642, when he died at Oxmantown, and was buried in St Patrick's church.*

* Lodge.

Charles Moore, Second Viscount Drogheda.

BORN A. D. 1603—SLAIN A. D. 1643.

THE ancestors of this eminent soldier are said to have first come from France into England soon after the conquest. They acquired estates in Kent, and are said to have assumed the name of De la More or De More, from the name of the manor, More-place in that county.

Of the descendants of this family, Sir Thomas Moore of Benenden in Kent, was father of Sir Thomas, who came over to Ireland and founded a noble family (the earls of Charleville,) early in the reign of Elizabeth; and also of Sir Edward, ancestor to the subject of this notice. Sir Edward came over as a soldier, and was knighted in 1579 by Sir William Drury, in his camp between Limerick and Kilmallock.* In consideration of his many and distinguished services, queen Elizabeth gave him a lease of the dissolved abbey of Mellifont, with its endowments in the county of Louth. This place continued afterwards to be the family seat, until the early part of the last century. In the history of Tyrone's rebellion, he is also mentioned frequently, and acted a distinguished part. His son, Sir Garret, served with distinction in the same war, and was with Sir William Godolphin, employed to treat with the earl of Tyrone on his submission at the end of that rebellion, in 1602. In 1621, Sir Garret was created Viscount Moore of Drogheda, in consideration of his great and honourable services.

Charles Moore, the third son of this last named person, came early on the stage of public life. In August, 1628, in his 25th year, he was appointed upon the commission for the regranting of escheated lands in Ulster; and advancing still in public importance, took an active and leading part in the affairs of his own province. These were not however, during the continuance of peaceful times, such as to claim especial notice, and we therefore pass over details of no present interest, to the period which brought him into more distinguished notice. We shall therefore only delay to mention that, in 1639, in virtue of the commission of grace, he had a lease and confirmation of his estates in Louth, Meath, Westmeath, Dublin, Monaghan, and the King's county, with license to impark 4000 acres, &c. &c.†

At the beginning of the rebellion lord Moore was residing with his family and a garrison of sixty-three carbines,‡ in the gloomy and sequestered state of the ancient castle of Mellifont, far from the vicinage of social life, and presenting an exposed point of attack to all the turbulence of Ulster. Here, on the 26th October, 1641, at a late hour in the day, the accounts of the first exploits of Sir Phelim O'Neile and the northern rebels reached him. He was alarmed by the account that his sister, lady Blayney, with her children, had been seized and imprisoned, and the castle taken by the rebels, who had surprised Newry and other towns and castles in the north. At midnight, lord Moore rode with his troop to Drogheda, which was about four miles and a half from his castle. On his arrival, he found the place unprovided for its defence,

* Lodge.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

the civil authorities, unconscious of the danger of their situation, and either incredulous or ill affected. He endeavoured to infuse vigour into their conduct, and to animate them to the preparations necessary for the defence of the town. The mayor and aldermen promised fairly, but Moore saw quickly that they could not be relied on: he at once resolved himself to make good the defence of the town, and for this to remove his family into it. He began by causing the walls to be repaired, the old and neglected artillery to be mounted and made fit for service, and the ditch scoured. Perceiving the total insufficiency of any force he could command, and strongly suspecting the disloyalty of the citizens, he rode off on a dark night to Dublin, to represent this state of things to the council, and desire their prompt interference to save the place. His remonstrances, backed by liberal offers of further aids in men at his own expense, had the desired effect: Sir Henry Tichburne was sent with a thousand foot, and arrived in the town 4th November. The reader knows the rest, the siege is detailed in our notice of Sir Phelim O'Neill.

In this interval lord Moore again applied to the council, offering to raise 600 men, and with the aid of Tichburne and the troops under his command, to secure the county of Louth. The offer was not accepted; but soon after, the rebels, resenting the spirited conduct of this nobleman, invested his castle of Mellifont with 1300 men. The castle was defended by twenty-four musqueteers, and fifteen dragoons, who held out bravely until their ammunition was spent. They were then compelled to yield. The gates were thrown open, the fifteen troopers mounted and charged out upon the rebels, through whom they forced a path, and without the loss of a man, made their way to Drogheda: the remainder of the garrison, to the number of twenty-four, yielded on quarter, but were slaughtered by the order of MacMahon, with twenty-eight of lord Moore's servants. The rebels carried away cattle and other property to the value of two thousand pounds.*

This event occurred a few weeks before the siege of Drogheda. In that siege lord Moore's tenants took a conspicuous part; and there is reason to believe, that they had even joined in the attack on Mellifont. They met with the due reward of their crime—during the siege of the town, they were attacked by their outraged lord, where they stood in arms on the north of Drogheda, and routed with the loss of their leader, and four hundred men killed in action, with several prisoners, among whom was Rory MacArt MacCross MacMahon. It was this exploit that raised the siege. Among the incidents of this fight, the most remarkable was an adventure of Moore's. It chanced that, with seven other horsemen, he was separated from his main body: the rebels quickly saw his exposed situation, and a cry arose "this is my lord Moore;" he was in a moment surrounded by upwards of two hundred men, and desperate efforts were made to seize him. Every effort was however vain against the impetuous charge with which Moore and his gallant little party broke through the crowd, and with the most formidable execution, cut themselves a bloody path to their friends.

When the siege of Drogheda had been raised, lord Moore was left

* Lodge.

in command of the town; and the conduct of the war in that part of the country was left chiefly to him. In the course of this service he performed many signal exploits, and obtained numerous important successes. On entering Ardee, 23d March, his personal valour obtained great notice, as numbers of the rebels fell by his own hand. In two days after he seized on Navan, and took a large plunder from the rebels whom he found endeavouring to secure the town against him.

In consideration of these great services, in June, 1642, king Charles appointed him governor of the county of Louth, and barony of Slane.*

In August, the same year, he marched with Sir John Borlase and colonel Gibson with their regiments, each amounting to 500 men and four pieces of cannon, against the castle of Seddan, which was defended by captain Fleming with a strong garrison of the rebels; the defence was brave and obstinate, though not of long duration. Having effected a breach, the walls were thrice assaulted, and at the last carried, after 500 brave rebels had fallen in the breach, and on the field without. The strength of this place had, it appears, been much relied on. Its capture made a strong impression on the resolution of lords Gormanstown and Netterville, who thereupon abandoned the castles of Newtown, and the fort of the Nobber. The counties of Louth and Meath were thus cleared of the presence of an enemy.

In the summer of the following year, the relative strength of the two opposing parties had considerably changed. The English army had been suffered to fall into neglect, and the rebels had been strengthened by the accession of many eminent lords and gentlemen, whose wealth and abilities gave new vigour to a bad cause. These circumstances we shall detail further on. On the 7th August, 1643, lord Moore was sent out against general Preston, who had advanced into Meath to reap the harvest of that county. Moore took Athboy, but, from the total want of ammunition, was unable to keep the field, or even to secure any portion of the harvest. His soldiers, in common with those of every other officer in the English service, were in a state of starvation, and ready to mutiny for their pay. The angry spirit among them became so manifest, that the peasantry who observed their condition took the alarm and kept aloof: but reaped the corn and carried it off every night. Owen O'Neile with 5000 well appointed soldiers and 700 cavalry, possessed himself of the whole harvest from Cavan to Slane; and the garrisons of Drogheda, Dundalk, and the fortified castles in the surrounding districts were perishing from utter want, so that their garrisons were all ready to desert them. O'Neile, joined by Sir James Dillon, and in connexion with Preston, by whom he could be joined without obstruction, seized on numerous castles without a blow, and proceeded to lay siege to Athboy. This, lord Moore was ordered to prevent, but was not in force to move. The government sent orders into Ulster that Monro should march or send 2200 men to assist him; Monro refused, on the pretence of an independent command over Ulster.

In this distress colonel Monk received orders to march from the county of Wicklow, where he had taken possession of Bray and New-

* Lodge.

castle, and to reinforce lord Moore. Thus strengthened, lord Moore advanced towards Athboy. On his approach O'Neile raised the siege and advanced to meet him, and took up a strong position at Portlester ford, upon the Black Water, about five miles from Trim. At a small distance from the ford was a mill, called the Earl's mill; into this O'Neile put sixty men, and threw up a strong breastwork before the door. Lord Moore commanded an attack on this post, but a well-served battery repulsed the assailants. As he stood upon a rising ground to direct this assault, it had been observed that the ball from a gun of the enemy repeatedly grazed the ground near his station: Moore, in the anxiety of the duty in which he was engaged, took no notice of the danger, and at last was struck by a ball which pierced his armour and occasioned his death. This event is dated by Lodge on the 7th August, and by Carte on the 12th September, 1643. The latter date agrees with the general train and succession of events, and that of Lodge, who is singularly careless about dates, must be from inadvertence.

Borlase remarks, in the account which he gives of this incident, that Moore was the first who engaged in the cause, and the last who fell in the commission of king Charles.

Connor Macguire, Baron of Enniskillen.

EXECUTED A. D. 1645.

THIS unfortunate person was one of those Roman catholic noblemen whom the artful representations of Roger Moore may be considered as having forced into rebellion. He has left his own account of the circumstances, by which it is apparent to how great an extent his conduct was influenced by the address and representations of Moore. This document we already quoted to some extent in our notice of that gentleman.

Of Macguire it will not be necessary to say much. He was the representative of an ancient Irish race, the chiefs of Fermanagh, whose names have from time to time occurred in our pages. His grandfather had a grant from the crown of 6480 acres, in Fermanagh, in consideration of service. This property with other honours descended to Connor; but he had, by his extravagance reduced himself to ruin. And was thus the more exposed to the artifices employed to draw him into the dangerous practices which cost him his life. His career was brief, as he was taken prisoner on the first discovery of the rebellion.

The day after this discovery, he was taken in an obscure house in Cooke street. Moore, Plunket, and others, having escaped across the Liffey overnight. At first Macguire refused to make any confession, but afterwards made a full disclosure of all the particulars. He was sent, together with MacMahon, to London, where they were committed to the Tower. There they remained for nearly two years; until, on August 18th, 1644, they contrived to make their escape.* With a

* Borlase.

saw they cut their way through a thick oaken door; and, having thus got clear from their apartment, they groped their way in silence to a loophole, or window, in the White Tower, from which they let themselves down by a rope procured for the purpose. The rest of the exploit was comparatively easy: they waded through the moat, and found their way to Drury Lane, where the friends who had contrived to supply the means of escape had secured their lodging.

Till October 20th,* they lurked securely in this concealment, and might very probably have escaped. But one night, with the recklessness of their countrymen, one of them called out from the window to an oyster woman who was passing by. The voice was recognised, and information promptly conveyed to Mr Conyers, the lieutenant of the Tower. A guard was despatched, and before two hours they found themselves once more in their lodging in the Tower.

They were brought to trial on the 18th November, in the King's Bench. MacMahon was at once condemned. Macguire made an able defence, and contrived to have his trial postponed till the following term. He was again brought before the same court on the 10th and 11th of February, 1645; when he pleaded that being baron of Enniskillen, he had a right to be tried by his peers: for this he cited the statute 10 Henry VII., by which he affirmed that the laws of England were in force in Ireland. To this the king's council demurred, and the point was argued on both sides, and ruled against Macguire by judge Bacon. We have not had it in our power to ascertain distinctly the ground of this decision; by the well known law of Poyning's parliament, 10 Henry VII., cited by Macguire; by repeated previous laws of Irish parliaments and royal declarations; and by several extensions of the great charter, the privilege of trial "*per legale judicium parium suorum*" seems to have been the rightful claim of every Irish subject. Nevertheless lord Bacon declared that an Irish baron was to be tried as a commoner in England. He cited the case of lord Gray, who was so tried for acts done in Ireland. This decision and precedent demands no discussion, as they cannot be considered as other than a stretch of power, with its lame excuse. On this an order was passed by the lords and commons for Macguire's trial. He then applied for further delay, for the purpose of bringing witnesses from Ireland. This also was denied upon grounds which would not now be regarded as satisfactory: the time that had already been spent on different pretences; and the very strange ground, that no witness could disprove the facts deposed to by the witnesses against him. This unconstitutional assumption, by which he was evidently prejudged, strongly indicates the undefined notions of trial by jury which could be applied in so very advanced a period of English law; and still more strongly the arbitrary influences which in that time were greater than the law.

Lord Macguire did not abandon his own cause. When the trial came on, he challenged twenty-three jurors empaneled for the first jury. The challenge was allowed, and the prisoner remanded till next day, when he was again brought up. The next day he moved that his plea of his rights as a peer, should be referred to the lords, which was re-

* Borlase.

fused; both because he had now put himself on his trial by the country, and also as the trial was by an order to which the lords were party. Another jury was sworn. To these Macguire objected that they were parties interested, most of them being purchasers of his lands. On this, after a wrangling argument, it was consented by the king's counsel, that the jury should declare upon affidavit, whether they, or any of them, had any share in the rebel's lands in Ireland. The jury made a declaration in the negative, and the trial was ordered to proceed.

He was then convicted, both by many circumstantial proofs, and by his own confession. Lord Bacon then asked him why sentence should not pass against him. Macguire, who seems to have sturdily resolved to contest every inch of ground, asked by what seal the judge proceeded against him. The judge answered, by the old seal; to which Macguire answered, that he conceived that the ordinance of parliament for a new great seal, must invalidate all proceedings under the old. This objection, though indicative of the objector's pertinacity and readiness, was but a cavil; and sentence was at length passed. Macguire was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn, 20th February, 1645.*

Sir Robert Stewart.

DIED ABOUT A. D. 1665.

THE ancestors of the eminent soldier here to be noticed, and of the Irish branch of the family of Stewart came into Ireland in the reign of James I., and claim an ancient and illustrious origin from the family of that monarch. We might thus, travel far back into the antiquity of Irish kings and heroes, the founders of the ancient monarchy of the Scottish throne. Of these some notice will be found in our first volume. We might also repeat with some effect the romance of Macbeth, and once more call up the ghost of Banquo to sit in his vacant chair and shake his "gory locks" for the entertainment of our readers. As the first of the Stewarts is traced by the heralds to his grandson, Walter, the son of Fleance, who on the murder of his father by Macbeth, fled into Wales, where he married Nesta, the daughter of Griffith ap Llewellyn, king of North Wales. After the death of Macbeth, his son, Walter, returned to Scotland, and was made lord high steward of Scotland by king Malcolm III. From him descended in order several representatives, bearing the name of Stewart to Robert Stewart or Stuart, who, in 1370, on the failure of issue male in the reigning family, succeeded to the throne of Scotland, by which the crown was transferred back into the direct line of descent from king Duffus,† in the tenth century.

James Stewart, a son of Murdoch, second duke of Albany, on the attainder of his father, fled into Ireland, where he married into the

* Borlase.

† Duffus left a son and a daughter; the son died childless, and was succeeded by Malcolm II. Banquo was the daughter's son.

family of MacDonell, and settled in the county of Tyrone where he died in 1449, leaving seven sons. From these descended several branches of the Stewart family in this country. Of these the oldest was created lord Avondale, to which title in the course of descent, were added the titles of Ochiltree next, and then Castle-Stewart.

The branch of this family, of whom we are now more especially to speak, is not traced to its root in the parent stem, with the distinctness we could wish. But the connexion is undoubted and not remote. We must here be contented to follow the example of most historians, and all heralds, whose skill in tracing out the cobweb lines of pedigree is not more admirable than the sleight of hand, by which obscure dates and lamentable chasms are shuffled out of view; so that the concealment of ignorance indicates a degree of skill not less useful than the discovery of truth.

In the reign of James I., the Stewarts of Newtown-Stewart and Culmore, in the county of Tyrone, were distinguished by their ability and courage, of both of whom we shall here give an account.

Sir William was the elder brother, and an undertaker to a very large extent in the county of Tyrone at the time of the plantation of Ulster. There he made considerable improvements, and built several castles and flourishing villages. He was knighted for his useful and efficient conduct in the short rebellion of O'Doherty; and, in 1613, represented the county of Donegal in parliament. By privy seal in 1423, he was created baronet.

When the rebellion of 1641 broke out, he received a commission to raise one thousand foot, and a troop of horse, for the security of the country. With this body of men he gave Sir Phelim O'Neile three remarkable defeats. Near Strabane, as he was on the point of setting fire to the town of Raphoe; on the mountains of Barnesmore; and lastly, a bloody and decisive rout, June 16th, 1642, which we have noticed in our memoir of Sir Phelim, and in which the great army which he had collected from all the northern counties, was put to flight, with the loss of five hundred men. Sir William died some time about 1662, the latest date at which we can discover any historical mention of him, or of his brother Robert, whom we are now to notice.

Robert Stewart was the second brother of the same family; and was a gentleman of the privy chamber to James I. He received large grants in the counties of Leitrim, Cavan, and Fermanagh. He was made a colonel by king Charles; and, in 1638, was appointed to the command of Culmore castle. He was in the following year returned member of parliament for the city of Londonderry; and in 1641, obtained a commission to raise one thousand foot, and a troop, for the king's service. He was made also governor of Derry, on the death of Sir James Vaughan in 1643, and on the 3d June, in that year, obtained a memorable victory over the rebel commander, the celebrated Owen O'Neile. The particulars of this battle must be the trophy of the victor, we shall therefore give a brief account of them here.

Owen O'Neile was on his march through the county of Monaghan, with three thousand two hundred men, of which force one thousand were immediately with him, the remainder were in attendance upon a large collection of cattle and fugitives, which it was his intention to

escort into Leitrim and the bordering counties. Stewart, having obtained intelligence of his approach, hastened to overtake him, and after a very severe march, came up with him on the borders of Fermanagh, at a place called Clonish. He had with him his own regiment, and Sir William's, with some companies from Derry, and from the regiments of Sir W. Balfour, and colonel Mervyn. When his approach had been ascertained by O'Neile, he posted his main body to the best advantage, in a strong pass, under a veteran officer of his own name, and advanced with his cavalry to reconnoitre. Sir Robert was about a mile from the enemy when he was apprized of these particulars: he ordered a halt that his men might breathe and take some refreshment. After this, he marched on till he came in sight of the rebels—they were drawn up behind a pass through a narrow stone causeway which O'Neile had lined with musqueteers. Sir Robert detached a strong party to force this position; their approach was met by O'Neile's cavalry, which came rushing over the causeway, and a very smart encounter took place: but the Irish were at last driven back—and their retreat pursued by Stewart's horse. For a moment the advantage was doubtful; the last horseman of the Irish had scarcely passed over the causeway, when the pursuers were saluted by a tremendous fusillade from the musqueteers within. The cavalry retired, but it was to make way for the forlorn hope, who charged impetuously in, and carried all before them—the whole of the English cavalry were at their heels, and in a few moments again charging the enemy's horse on the other side of the pass. For some minutes now the battle raged with great fury and little method. Captain Stewart, the leader of Sir Robert's troop, and probably either his son or his nephew, engaged hand to hand with Owen O'Neile: the combat was interrupted—the combatants were too important to their respective parties to be allowed to fight it out—the battle rested for an instant on the result of a blow, when Stewart was charged on one side, and wounded, while by a lateral shock his horse was borne to the earth.

In the mean time, Shane O'Neile, whom his commander had posted in the rear of the cavalry, in the strong pass already mentioned, saw how matters were going on. He advanced with his twelve companies to support the cavalry already beginning to break and give way. Sir Robert saw this movement, and quitting the cavalry which he had headed, he put himself at the head of his own regiment of foot and led them on to charge the advancing infantry of his antagonist. They were bravely received, and both parties rushing together with the animosity of the occasion and age, strove with a brave and sanguinary desperation for a full half hour. At last, as the second regiment of the English had made their way, and were ready to advance to the aid of their companions, the Irish suddenly gave way and fled with such precipitation as to break the order of their own body of reserve, which was coming up to their aid. All fled together, and the English horse executed tremendous havoc on their flying companies as they ran. In this battle the loss of Owen O'Neile was very great: numbers of his best men were slain, and, what was far worse, most of his foreign officers were either killed or taken.

The loss of the English was but six killed, and twenty-two wounded; but Sir Robert Stewart was by no means in condition to take further advantage of his victory. His supplies were spent, and he was obliged to disperse his forces to their several stations, and return to Londonderry. O'Neile pursued his way to Charlemont: the people flocked about his standard every mile of the way; before he had reached Mohil, his forces showed no sign of the slaughter of Clunies. They were, it is true, unarmed; but the supreme council sent him arms and ammunition, and he soon took the field as strong as ever.

We shall now pass on more glancingly through the rest of Stewart's career. Most of the circumstances we shall have to relate in future detail. In 1644, he was one among the colonels, who agreed in a resolution against taking the covenant which the parliament ordered to be taken by the army.

In 1648, he was, by the vicissitudes of events, opposed to the parliamentary army in Ireland. And as he commanded the important fort of Culmore, which was the key to Londonderry, he was an object of much close watchfulness, and fell into a dexterously contrived snare—which is indistinctly related by Lodge, who refers to Carte, but must have found his half-told story somewhere else. Carte simply mentions, that “Sir Charles Coote,” (son of the person already commemorated in volume II.) “treacherously seized on Sir Robert Stewart's person, forced him to order his castle of Culmore to be delivered, and then sent him a prisoner to London.” Lodge mentions that he was inveigled into Derry, to a baptism at a friend's house, and “insidiously taken,” and with colonel Mervyn, who was similarly taken, delivered to colonel Monk, who sent them to London,—adding that colonel Monk, *afterwards by some artifices*, got possession of Culmore:—a statement which may be as true as Carte's, but is not the same. Carte's observation should not be here unpeated:—“This treatment of so gallant an officer, after a course of sufferings for so many years, and of services greater than any other commander then in the kingdom had performed, highly incensed the old Scots, and all the forces that had used to serve under him.”

When the war was ended by the success of the parliamentary forces, and an act was passed for the settlement of Ireland, Stewart was expressly excepted from pardon for life or estate. He lived nevertheless, to see brighter days after a long and dreary interval of adversity. The year 1660 brought with it the restoration; and the merit and sufferings of Stewart were among those which escaped the oblivion of the heartless and selfish Charles. He was appointed to the command of a company, and soon after made governor of the city and county of Derry.

From this we find no further mention worthy of note; and as he had run a long course from the year 1617, in which we find him recorded for his faithful services to king James, to the restoration, we may presume, that he had attained a good old age. From the Ordnance Survey of Derry, we also find that in 1661, he was succeeded in his government by colonel Gorges, appointed May 6th, 1661. It is therefore the high probability that his death occurred in the same year.

Robert Stewart, of Irry.

DIED A. D. 1662.

IN the previous notice it has been shown, that a branch of the Stewart family which bore in Scotland the titles of Avondale and Ochiltree, had been advanced in Ireland, to the title of baron Castlestewart, of the county of Tyrone.

Robert Stewart of Irry, was brother to the fifth lord Castlestewart, and was highly distinguished among the numerous brave men, whom a stirring time has brought into historic notice. We do not think ourselves quite warranted to bring forward a full detail of the various exploits belonging to other memoirs, in which he bore an honourable part. He relieved Dungannon fort, and that of Mountjoy, when at the point of surrender to the rebels; and, attacking the besiegers with a very inferior force, compelled them to decamp into the fastnesses of Slievegalen and Altadesert. He next maintained possession of the two forts of Zoome and Antrim, of which he was governor, till the coming of Cromwell, when resistance became useless and impossible. He died in 1662, leaving one son, in whom the line was continued under the following circumstances:—The fifth lord died unmarried, and the title reverted to his uncle, who, having lived to a very old age, died without issue, when the next claimant to the title was Andrew, the grandson of Robert here noticed. He was at the time of his uncle's death but 12 years of age, and was removed to Scotland by his mother, during the war of the revolution. To him the title devolved, but he did not (as afterwards appeared) claim it, as the family estate had been "taken away by the lady Suffolk."* For the same reason his son did not think fit to claim a title to which they were quite aware of their right. And so the matter slept till 1774, when a petition from Andrew Thomas Stewart brought forward the claim, which was decided in his favour.

Richard Butler, Third Viscount Mountgarret.

BORN A. D. 1578.—DIED A. D. 1651.

THE third viscount Mountgarret, having married a daughter of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, was early led into connexions, of which in those times, rebellion was almost the sure consequence. Lord Mountgarret was an active adherent to his father-in-law, and took arms in his behalf, at the early age of twenty-one. In the reign of Elizabeth, when Ireland had been but recently brought into even a comparative subjection, and the authority of the crown was but imperfectly defined, rebellion was yet looked upon with indulgence by the crown. The will of the sovereign stood in place of the even and irrespective execution of law,

* Andrew, uncle to Robert of Irry, and third baron, having a daughter, his only child, conveyed his estate to her husband, the earl of Suffolk.—*Lodge and Burke.*

and the award of policy or vindictive feeling was lenient or severe, according to the circumstances of the case. Chiefs who had not laid aside the pretensions of kings, and who had the power of maintaining these pretensions to a troublesome extent, were looked on with indulgence: their gratitude conciliated, their turbulence overlooked, and their outbreaks controlled and pardoned. Thus it was, that in the latter end of the sixteenth century, great rebellions, which covered the land with blood and fear, passed away without effecting those forfeitures of life and land, which so soon after became their certain consequence. Much indeed, as the historian may feel at the passing away of illustrious families of ancient time—his sense of expediency and justice must tell him, that the peace of society and the vindication of the law by which order subsists, is more important still; and in looking upon the operation of a system of civilizing change, essential to the future, but attended with immediate disadvantage to a few, he cannot without an abandonment of every true social principle, wish it had been otherwise. The institution of just and equal law, on the one only principle upon which human caprice, the errors of uncertain policy, and the fierce and constant workings of those latent springs of disorder by which every class is pervaded can be controlled, must ever depend on the certainty, that the law cannot be violated without the forfeiture of those rights of which it is the security.

During the long life of the lord Mountgarret, the state of Ireland was widely changed. The laws of England had been established to the full extent that such a step was practicable. Their administration necessarily subject to great abuses, was yet productive of vast amelioration in the condition of the people. Had they been much sooner enforced, the consequences must have fallen with lamentable severity upon the aristocracy of the land, as their full operation must have visited with extreme penalties, a large class who had attained to imperfect notions of the difference between right and wrong. But from the rebellion of Tyrone, the mind of the Irish aristocracy had rapidly expanded, and the various letters and documents of the Irish nobles of every class, exhibit no deficiency in the constitutional knowledge of the age. Ireland had made a step in advance, which does not seem to have ever been thoroughly appreciated.

The rebellion of Tyrone, did not with all its bloodshed and widespread devastation, materially alter the condition of men, who for their private ends, had caused the death of thousands, and overwhelmed the country with waste and famine. In 1599, we find the lord Mountgarret a lord of the pale, defending the castles of Ballyragget and Coleshill against the queen's forces, and in 1605, he receives the special livery of his estates, as if he had been in the meantime a student at the temple, or serving under Carew or Mountjoy. From this his name is for some years lost in general history, but being a person of active habits, he was probably making himself useful in preserving order, and introducing improvement in his own immediate vicinity. In the parliaments of 1613 and 1615, his conduct was prudent, and attracted the approbation of king James. This seems confirmed by the fact, that in 1619, he had in consideration of loyal services, a con-

firmation of all his estates, with the creation of several manors, and various lucrative and valuable privileges.*

On the commencement of the rebellion in 1641, he was joined in commission with the earl of Ormonde, for the government of the county of Kilkenny, and upon the earl's removal to Dublin, the county was entirely committed to his charge.

A rumour had however been sedulously propagated, that the government entertained designs hostile to the Roman catholic lords of the pale. This inauspicious rumour, was diffused by the agents of the leading persons and parties, who were at the time engaged in maturing the outbreak which so soon followed: it was loudly affirmed by Moore and his associates, and much favoured by the suspicious conduct of the lords-justices. A concurrence of untoward circumstances originated, and kept up a misunderstanding, which every word and act on either side confirmed. The aristocracy of Munster and the Roman catholic lords of the pale, equally fearful of the popular leaders and distrustful of the government, beset with surrounding dangers from revolutionary conspirators, a plundering and lawless populace, and a circumventing and iniquitous administration, quickly perceived that their safety must depend upon their strength; it was quite apparent that to sit at ease as indifferent spectators would not be permitted by either party. Accordingly, these noblemen, early on the appearance of rebellious indications, offered their services; and among others, lord Mountgarret offered to raise a thousand men, to arm them at his own expense, and command them against the rebels. The offer was not accepted; the lords-justices in their terror, ignorance, and in the narrowness of their bigoted policy distrusted these noblemen, and the consequence of their distrust was that they would neither employ them against the common danger, nor allow them to protect themselves, but acted towards them with an arbitrary and inconsiderate exertion of authority, which conveyed insult, and seemed to menace danger. Having first put arms into their hands for the defence of their families and the pale, they next recalled those arms, and summoned them to appear at the castle. These lords had powerful inducements to draw them into rebellion, and were strongly urged to that perilous course by the nature of their connexions. Nevertheless, with the more than doubtful exception of lord Mayo, they had kept apart from every overt manifestation of a disaffected character, and strenuously asserted their adherence to the king and the government, until it became too evident that the only proof they could give of their loyalty, was to stand unprotected between two hostile powers. To be the first victims of rebellion, or be received on the doubtful footing of distrust by a government, of which the previous conduct had been such as to prove they were not themselves to be trusted. To give effect to these circumstances, rumours were in active circulation on both sides. Among those who were impressed with the notion that it was the design of government to extirpate the Roman catholics, lord Mountgarret was one; he has himself furnished an exposition of his own motives, we here extract it with some corroborative

* Lodge, iv. p. 52.

statements from Archdall. The letter to the earl of Ormonde runs thus:—

“My lord.—Since I have been forced in this general cause by the example of some, as innocent and free from infringing of his majesty’s laws as myself, who have been used in the nature of traitors, I forbore for avoiding your displeasure, to acquaint you with my proceedings and other motives therein: but now, for fear of being mistaken by the state concerning my loyalty, and presuming of your lordship’s favour and good meaning towards me, I make bold to send you here enclosed, an exact remonstrance of those principal grievances that have procured this general commotion in this kingdom; where-with I shall humbly desire your lordship to acquaint the lord-justice and council, to the end they may by a fair redress of them, prevent the fearful calamities that doubtless shall ensue for want thereof. It is not my case alone, it is the case of the whole kingdom; and it hath been a principal observation of the best historian, that a whole nation how contemptible soever, should not be incensed by any prince or state, how powerful soever, as to be driven to take desperate courses, the event whereof is uncertain, and rests only in the all-guiding power of the Omnipotent. This has been most lively represented by the French chronicler, Philip de Comines, in the passage between the duke of Burgundy and the Switzers. I will not press this matter further, (a word is enough to the intelligent,) and I cannot harbour any thought of your lordship, but that you are sensible of the miseries of this kingdom, whereof you are a native, and do wish the quiet and tranquillity thereof: I do, for a further expression of my own sincerity in this cause, send your lordship here enclosed my declaration and oath, joined with others, which I conceive to be tolerable, and no way inclining to the violation of his majesty’s laws, whereof I am and always will be very observant, as becomes a loyal subject, and

“My lord,

“Your lordship’s humble servant,

“MOUNTGARRET.

“25th March, 1642.”

To this letter of lord Mountgarret’s, we add Archdall’s comment:—

“In confirmation hereof, it appears from the deposition of William Parkinson of Castlecomer, Esq., that so little was his lordship’s inclination to take up arms against his majesty, that Walter Butler of Poolestown, Walter Bagenal of Dunleckney, and Robert Shee of Kilkenny, Esq., were the chief instruments that made him do so; and so high was the insolence of those rebels grown, that the deponent had read a petition of one Richard Archdeane, captain of the Irish town of Kilkenny, and the alderman of the city, directed to the lord Mountgarret and his council, desiring (among other things,) that Philip Parcell of Ballyfoile, Esq., his lordship’s son-in-law, might be punished for relieving the protestants. Also, the titular bishop of Cashel, Tirlogh Oge O’Neile, brother to the arch rebel Sir Phelim, and the popish citizens of Kilkenny, petitioned the rest of the council of Kilkenny, that all the English protestants there should be put to death; whereunto Richard Lawless in excuse answered, that they were

all robbed before, and he saw no cause that they should lose their lives; and at divers other times, where it was pressed that the English should be put to death, the lord Mountgarret with his son Edmund, and his son-in-law Parcell, by their strength, means, and persuasions, prevented it."

Having made this representation, which we believe truly to represent the case of the Roman catholic lords of the pale, Mountgarret advanced with a large train of his connexions, and of the gentry of the county, and seized on the city of Kilkenny, where he publicly declared the motives of his conduct. He then issued a public proclamation, commanding his followers to respect the life and property of the English inhabitants. By his influence and personal vigilance, he gave effect to this order, and prevented the commission of those crimes which it must have demanded much authority and watchfulness to repress.

It is now quite apparent that though such a distinction could not then have been noticed, and though it did not practically appear for a long time after, that this rebellion was composed of two parties distinct in their character, principles, and motives, though combined by a common direction and common hostility to the Irish government. The native chiefs and their immediate party, whose aim was as we have fully explained to recover the lands and power of their ancestors, revenge injuries real or supposed, and root out the English name, authority and religion: at the head of these was Sir Phelim O'Neile. And secondly, the Roman catholic nobles, of whose motives Mountgarret may be here offered as the representative. These parties are not more distinguishable by their characters and declared motives, than by their entire conduct. The party of Sir Phelim, unconstrained by any principle but the passions which led or drove them from crime to crime, were formidable for their butcheries of the unarmed; their exploits in the field were few and doubtful, and a few regular soldiers never failed to overmatch their utmost numbers. On the other hand, the war assumed a military character under the command of Mountgarret, Castlehaven, and other lords of their party, presenting a formidable front, fighting desperate battles in the field, and abstaining from butcheries and massacres, perfidious stratagems and treasours under the pretext of every falsehood. So determined was lord Mountgarret for the prevention of crime, that finding it difficult to impress the people with any sense of respect for property, he showed an effective example by shooting Mr Richard Cantwell, a gentleman of great influence, and a friend of his own family, when he saw him joining in plunder. Such in the beginning is the traceable division in this long rebellion, which, as it proceeded through many desolating years, split into so many armed and mutually hostile parties.

Having seized Kilkenny, lord Mountgarret sent out his parties to secure other towns in the surrounding country; and in one week, he was master of nearly all the towns of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary. Waterford submitted to his son Edmond Roe Butler; this city had shut its gates a month before against the Wexford rebels; Butler was received with willingness. No violence was here committed on life or goods, no one was disturbed; several protestants

expressed a desire to depart, and they were permitted to take their entire property, without question. Callan and Gowran were at the same time and as peaceably secured. Clonmel, Carrick, and Dungarvan, were seized by Butler of Kilcash, second brother to the earl of Ormonde, in a manner so orderly and free from violence or plunder, as seemingly to deprive rebellion of its horrors. The impression made by this unusual conduct upon the surrounding country, led in one instance at least, to a dangerous confidence. Theobald Butler, the baron of Ardmaile, seeing the facility with which places were to be taken, privately assembled a large gang of his own people, and proceeded to take possession of Fethard. Hacket, the sovereign of the town, suspecting nothing, without any hesitation admitted him with a few friends; he was seized in his own house, and the keys of the town taken by Butler, who let in his undisciplined rabble to the number of a thousand, with clubs, pikes, and skeans. There were nine English in the town, these were seized and confined, and their entire property collected and shut up in the castle. Happily, the account of this transaction came to the ears of lord Dunboyne, who the next day came and dispersed the rabble, and restored the Englishmen to their freedom and property. They were then sent off to Youghal, and other places at their own choice. Of these, two were protestant clergymen, one Mr Hamilton, was sent to the countess of Ormonde, by whom he was protected with his family; the other (Mr Lowe, vicar of Cloyne,) made a less fortunate selection. He made it his desire to be conducted to the house of a Mr Mockler, who was his landlord, in the vicinity. He was under the delusive expectation that the rebellion would presently pass away, and that there was no occasion to remove far from home. He was kindly received by Mr Mockler. Some little time after, Mockler had occasion to go to Clonmel, and Lowe, for what reason is not known, accompanied him to Fethard. On parting company, Mr Mockler trusted him to the protection of a Mr Byffert, a person who was considered safe. At night, a carpenter of the name of MacHugh, with some others, attacked him in his bed, murdered him, and carried him out in the quilt to the bridge of Crompe, where they threw him into the river. Mr Mockler and Mr Byffert had an active search for the murderer, and MacHugh was soon caught and committed to prison. He escaped, but thinking himself safe in the general license of the time, returned and was again seized, on which he confessed the murder and was executed.

From such enormities this part of the country was kept comparatively free, by the humanity and firmness of the noblemen who headed the rebellion there. The Tipperary gentlemen and those of the surrounding baronies, met in the beginning of January, to consult upon the means of raising an army. It was agreed that every gentleman should raise as many cavalry and as well equipped as they could; that these levies were then to be formed into regular troops, and their pay provided for. Lord Skerrin was chosen lieutenant-general, and the command in chief offered to lord Mountgarret. He took the command, drew together a large body of men, and marched into Tipperary, where a junction with lord Skerrin placed him at the head of

nearly eight thousand men. To these, additional numbers were added under different leaders from the county of Limerick.

Lord Mountgarret, at the head of this numerous but not well appointed force, held on his way towards the county of Cork. He sat down on the way before the castle of Cnockordane, which quickly surrendered on capitulation. It is a frightful feature of the history of this rebellion, that it is thought necessary by the historian to assure us emphatically that the capitulation was "honourably observed."*

Having entered the county of Cork, he was observed by Sir William St Leger, who did not think fit to attack him, but desired a conference. This was a *ruse de guerre*. While Sir William kept the rebel lord in conference, he contrived to have his arms and military stores removed from Doneraile and other *depots* in the vicinity, which would otherwise have fallen into the hands of the rebels. Lord Mountgarret now appeared to have the whole country at his disposal, when an obstacle on which he had least calculated arose. Lord Fermoy, whose influence in this county was as considerable as that of Mountgarret in his own, refused to submit to his command, and was supported by all the principal gentry of the county. On this lord Mountgarret turned and marched back to Kilkenny.

It was thought, and we cannot doubt it, that this incident gave a turn to the rebellion. Had lord Mountgarret at the time pursued his own success, there was nothing to resist him, he must have seized on Munster with all its places of strength, and would have been in a condition to follow up the same course all over Ireland, before the capricious and grudging hand of government would or could have raised any sufficient defence. The gentry of Cork disagreed among themselves, and when the pretensions of Mountgarret were questioned, other pretensions were discussed, and, before any thing could be agreed, the efforts of St Leger, the Boyles, and the Barrys, began to be effective in putting the country into a defensible state; their raw levies were armed, disciplined, and inured to military hardships and privations, and the time for a combined opposition passed away.

It was in this interval that the siege of Drogheda already related, took place.

The next memorable incident of lord Mountgarret's history, is the battle of Kilrush, within a few miles of Athy. He had taken a position near the bridge of Mageny, when the English troops under the command of the earl of Ormonde, were observed marching up at some distance. Mountgarret had his unbroken army of something above eight thousand men, commanded under him by lords Skerrin, Dunboyne and others, and the advantage of a peculiarly strong position. The movements of the English was such as to show that their commander was fully aware of the advantages of his enemy. The earl of Ormonde in fact had decided against the attack, but came to the resolution of passing on towards Dublin; he anticipated an effort to intercept his march, and for this he made his dispositions. These we shall relate further on. His troops had not marched far when lord Mountgarret saw his advantage, and came to the resolution of

* Carte.

not throwing away the occasion for a decisive blow; three miles further on there was a pass through which they must march, and there he determined to meet them. For this purpose leaving the enemy on the left, Mountgarret led his army round the bog of Killika, by which the pass near Ballysovanan was approachable by a short cut, and not being encumbered with baggage, it was his hope to secure the pass before the earl of Ormonde could come up. In the mean time the enemy was not idle, and a column of cavalry led by Sir T. Lucas, came onward at a brisk pace. After a couple of miles hasty marching, Mountgarret approached the pass, a low hill had for some time shut out the view of the English troops, and he had not perceived the progress they had made, his mortification was therefore great when he found that Lucas had outmarched him; the pass was seized, and he was forced to halt. He had yet the advantage of a strong position, and if his soldiers were to be trusted the enemy had nothing to hope from an attack, they could at best escape.

But the earl of Ormonde had little notion of such an alternative, his movements told of battle. He was drawing up his little army and making the most masterly arrangements at the foot of the hill, within two musket shots of Mountgarret and his people. It could be seen that he was sending off his messengers, and disposing his companies and his baggage in the places best adapted for their respective characters.

Seeing all this Mountgarret drew up his men in two divisions, rather with the design of maintaining his strong position, than of attacking his enemy; and while he was thus engaged, Sir C. Coote, and Sir R. Grenville, came up with their companies, and Sir T. Lucas took a position on the left of his position with the cavalry. These had no sooner fallen into their places, than the earl of Ormonde with his four companies came on to the charge at a rapid pace. Their approach was for a few minutes retarded, and they were thrown into some confusion, by an unexpected obstacle. When they had cleared about half the distance between them and the Irish, they came upon a hedge and a hollow way which obstructed their advance. They were however suffered to retrieve their order of attack, by moving round these impediments so as to form inside the hedge. The fight now commenced with a distant firing, which did no damage to either side. This had not lasted above half an hour when a gap was found at some distance in the hedge, through which Sir T. Lucas and Sir R. Grenville were enabled to lead the cavalry, so as to charge Mountgarret on the left. The Irish did not stand the charge, but turned and fled in great confusion towards the bog which lay at the foot of the hill; the cavalry which had been posted to protect their flanks, stood for another charge led by Grenville, on which they turned and joined their companions.

Mountgarret commanded in the right wing, which was composed of his best men, and yet stood their ground. Against these lord Ormonde led his troop of volunteers and three hundred foot commanded by Sir J. Sherlock; they fired several volleys as they came up the hill, which were received with steadiness; but as they were on the point of crossing their pikes, Mountgarret's best men turned

and fled over the hill for their lives, nor stopped to breathe till they reached the bog where they found their comrades.

In this battle Mountgarret lost seven hundred men, and as they were cut down chiefly in their flight, the loss on the other side was but twenty. After such a defeat, it is probable that he retained no great reliance on the efficiency of this unwieldy and undisciplined mob, which could be beaten against all possible disadvantages by a handful of soldiers.

He returned to Kilkenny, in the hope of effecting a more organized as well as extensive resistance. He was there appointed president of the supreme council organized in this year (1642), to methodize their proceedings and supply the place of government to the country. Of this we shall give a brief account in the next memoir, which may be considered as the commencement of a new chapter of events.

He did not however allow the civil station which thus enlarged his influence in a party, which at this time, as we shall hereafter show more at large, was fast attaining weight both in counsel and arms, to detain him from enterprise in the field. The insurrection had assumed a more specious character both from the accession of intrinsic advantages, and still more, from the occurrences of English history, which must at the time have had considerable effect in confusing the question of authority. When it became doubtful in whom was vested the powers of the sword and balance, rebellion must have assumed a fairer name, and lifted up a prouder front—another act of this bloody tragedy was now to commence.

On the 18th of March, 1642, lord Mountgarret took his share in the battle of Ross, between Preston and the earl of Ormonde. In the following year his name occurs in the capture of Borras. He was also with lord Castlehaven, and many other of the rebel lords, at the siege of Ballynakil. This siege commenced in November 26th, 1641; and is chiefly memorable for the extreme sufferings of the garrison and inhabitants, who were left to their own miserable resources, and held out with the most slender subsistence, and even without arms. At their surrender, upwards of one hundred and fifty had perished rather from want and disease, than the weapon of the foe. On this occasion, as on every other, lord Mountgarret is to be distinguished not less for his humanity, and for his attention to the relief of distressed protestants. The offices of humanity were at the time rendered difficult, by the continual increase of angry and fanatic passions. Though the high-born, and the educated, continued in a measure proof against the evil contagion of disorder which loosened all the ties, and dissolved all the ordinary ruling sentiments of civil life—the ignorant who are the slaves of prejudice and impulse, and the blind instruments of design, soon acquire the temper of their habits, and a moral tone from their own deeds. The long continued prostration of all the barriers of control—the emulation in crime—the triumphs of animal ruffianism; and the fearful excitement which undisciplined spirits diffuse and reflect by mere aggregation, continued to increase beyond any thing recorded by history: so that among the brutal rabble of parties who reaved and butchered each other as they found opportunity, the common features of humanity seemed to have been effaced. In proof of this we need

cite no description of the general historians; but the dreadful facts are registered with no sparing pen. From this dark and awful stain upon their history, the prominent and elevated leaders on both sides, are for the most part to be honourably exempted. The unhappy conjunction of events, and the ill-concerted policy that drove so many brave and honourable nobles and gentlemen into the arms of rebellion, were in some measure countervailed by the constant influence of their wisdom and humanity. But it was otherwise than fortunate for these noble but misdirected men, who were, when all was over, in many instances harshly dealt with. Neither the difficulties in which they had been placed by a feeble and corrupt government, nor the forbearance and moderation they had exercised, nor the general confusion of authorities which had in some measure sanctioned the course they followed, were admitted to palliate their offences against a government itself made lawful only by rebellion.

Lord Mountgarret was an actor throughout these disastrous scenes. He did not long survive their termination. After his death, which happened in 1651, he was excepted from pardon by Cromwell's act for the settlement of Ireland in 1652. He was buried in St Canice church in Kilkenny.

Owen O'Neill.

DIED A.D. 1648.

IN writing the lives of numerous persons, of whom most are to be chiefly distinguished for the several parts which they sustained in the same succession of events, it would be as vain as it would be embarrassing to preserve the unbroken order of history. We are at every fresh life compelled to look at the same main events, with the choice of changing the aspect and suppressing or expanding the details, as they become more or less the appropriate accessories to the principal figure, which is to occupy the foreground of narration. Something, however, we have effected to counterbalance this necessity, by the adoption of a double order of arrangement; following the succession of deaths as a general guide, to keep a just preservation of the course of generations—on a smaller scale we have endeavoured to be guided by the succession of events; in this, placing the contemporary individuals as nearly as we might, so as to preserve the true sequence of their *historical* existence. Thus though often entangled in the necessary repetition of minor incidents, without any regard to order, the greater and more cardinal events will be found in their true places, and comparatively freed from the encumbrance of needless repetition.

The same necessity of preserving a biographical form, renders it expedient and necessary to introduce some persons and some historical facts not strictly within the scope of mere biography, in lives which rather admit than require such adjuncts. To comprehend the large, varied, complicated, and sometimes confused as well as unconnected body of incidents, which form yet consistent portions of the same great state complex affairs, the reader must have before him some distinct

notices of party movements and combinations, from which so much must be traced or rightly understood. These necessary additions which must have extended our introductory remarks to an exclusive volume, we have endeavoured to make in due season and with separate fulness, by distributing them among our notices of the more important and weighty of the persons connected with them.

The author of a pleasing and popular work on the principal incidents of our history, has somewhere described this rebellion as a great and fearful tragedy in three acts. The comparison is valuable for its perfect truth. The arrival of Owen O'Neile is coincident with the second long act of this terrible drama; at the rising of the curtain he stands before the scene. We shall avail ourselves of the interval to place the reader in possession of the immediate state of all the greater parties whose conduct or condition mainly influenced a revolution of events; in which the changes, were so various and the influences at work so little combined and so opposite, that every year seems to open a history of its own, and to unfold a state of affairs so altered in character as seemingly to diminish the historical importance of that preceding, were it not that lessons of the deepest interest are to be drawn from the whole. There never was a rebellion in which the hopes of the insurgent parties appear so strongly grounded in favouring circumstances, or their errors so palliated by strong seemings of justifying pretext. At no time does history offer an instance of Irish insurrection so imposing by the weight of its leading men, the justice of their discontents, their seeming strength, or more than all by the weakness and errors of their opponents. The Irish administration was without energy, authority, wisdom, or resource: it was wholly inadequate to the occasion, timid, self-interested, feeble and stained with numerous imputations, of which many were too true not to give a colour to all: the nobility and gentry whose interests lay in the preservation of peace and social order, were forced into the rebel councils either from the want of defence or the fear of injustice: the foreign rivals and enemies of England, watching over the progress of the strife and waiting the favourable moment to throw their sword and gold into the scale: but more than all together, for all this were nothing, England divided against herself and incapable of that effectual interposition, which alone could overrule the tumultuary outbreaks of Irish insurrection. For a time the question of rebellion became doubtful; for not only was there no power to quell its brawling, murdering, and plundering factions, but the claim of allegiance and the authority of laws and institutions, appeared to be lost. The social convention which imposes a due subordination on the better sense of mankind, was broken up in the conflict between the fundamental authorities; and it soon became a question easier to ask than answer, which was the government, and which the object of allegiance—the parliament or the king; and how far a people who had their own peculiar interests, and who under existing circumstances could be assisted or controlled by neither, were at liberty to take their own part. We do not, it is true, believe that external accidents, such as we have stated here, can alter the true moral character of the intents, or of the agencies at work in that disjointed period. We do not think the justification of the rebel parties which we are to trace through

their several courses, at all commensurate with the excuses thus afforded by *after events*. But it is to our more decided purpose to observe that by the vast and general confusion of rights and authorities, to which we have adverted, the rebels gained a great accession of strength. Many in whom it was virtue, honour, and loyalty, to be faithful to king Charles, were led to connect his cause with the prosperity of rebellion; and many, on the other hand, whose aims were inconsistent with the royal cause, found support in the adoption of the specious pretext of loyalty. Thus throughout this lengthened interval, the fate of all the brawling commotions which harassed the country was prolonged into a lingering existence, by the state of affairs in England. Agitated to the centre by her own troubles, England was not in a condition to detach any effectual force on either side; and the insurgent parties were thus left to brawl and battle as they might, among themselves. As every reflecting reader will anticipate, various designs occupied the leading spirits of disorganization, and they soon began to neutralize each other, with contending passions and opposed ambition. And this was the second act of the drama. Then last came, as usual, the event of popular revolutions and tragedies; the gathering retribution of eight long years of crime and infatuation, was poured out upon this most hopeless country; and the last act is closed with more than poetical justice, by the crushing and indiscriminate hand of Cromwell and his iron associates. Such is the outline of the remainder of this volume.

The events from which we are now to start are of a character to demand, as we have apprized the reader, considerable detail. The rebellion was about to subside, from the experience which was beginning to be felt of the utter inefficiency of the troops which its leaders could bring into the field: they were discovering that their undisciplined and tumultuary mobs, were more fit for the work of massacre and plunder than to face an enemy in the field; and the defeats they had sustained from Stewart, Ormonde, Coote, and other government leaders with comparatively small forces, had so discouraged Sir Phelim O'Neile and his confederates, that they had begun to prepare for their escape from the country; when other concurrent causes long in preparation, arrested their meditated desertion and gave new animation to the contest. Leland mentions the arrival of Owen O'Neile, as the main incident which renewed the subsiding zeal of the rebels; and undoubtedly from his arrival in the moment of deepest distress, when the chiefs were on the point of flight, they must have derived new energy and hope. But from our perusal of many of Leland's authorities and even from himself, we are inclined to date this renovation from a few months earlier; when the certainty of his coming and the accession of foreign supplies must have been foreknown. Owen O'Neile landed in July; early in March the Irish prelates, who had with little exception hitherto held back from any countenance of the rebels, came forward with open declarations in their favour. As Carte, quoting a letter* of Sir C. Coote, observes "the Romish clergy who (as the lords-justices say) had hitherto walked somewhat invisibly in all these works of darkness,

* Carte, I. p. 31c.

now began openly to justify that rebellion, which they were before supposed underhand to promote." That the Roman catholic prelates must have desired the success of this rebellion, may be regarded as a matter of course; and, considering their peculiar position and class of duties, it is less an imputation to this body to make this affirmation, than it is their just praise to have withheld their personal sanction from the revolting and mischievous atrocity by which it had been characterized. And if it be just to suspect that they had entertained the favourable sentiment assumed, it is certainly due to fairness to observe, that there should be strong circumstantial ground for accusing them of the infamous participation supposed in Sir C. Coote's letter. It cannot for a moment be believed, that a body of men so intelligent, whose main occupation was the administration of the interests of the Christian religion, under any form, could allow themselves to imagine a cause which they deemed sacred, to be connected with the fiendlike atrocities and the superstitious blasphemies of a deluded peasantry; whose conduct, injurious most of all to the religion whose name their ignorance abused, is rather to be attributed to their utter ignorance than to their creed. Of this there are indeed too many, and too obvious proofs. The prelates, unquestionably desirous for the advancement of their church to the ascendancy which they deemed to belong to her by right, would have considered such an event as a full compensation for the horrors of such a rebellion; if we were to assent to their principle, we should easily arrive at the same inference. And when they saw the turn which events were likely to take, and were encouraged in their consistent duty, by the assurance of large succours from abroad, they necessarily stepped forward to extract what they considered to be good from that which they knew to be evil. The best that can be said is to be found in the consideration, that with some exceptions the Roman catholic clergy, had strenuously resisted the crimes of their deluded congregations; and the conduct of one of the body may be mentioned, as indicative at least that their convention in Kilkenny was no long concerted movement, but a change of purpose on the demand of occasion. The titular bishop of Meath had throughout, from the beginning, exerted himself strenuously and efficaciously in opposition to the rebellion, which he declared to be groundless and unjust; and by his remonstrances prevailed with many noblemen and gentry of that diocese to be still. The same resistance which he offered to the rebels, he afterwards offered to the prelates. And this it may be supposed was not permitted without censure. The rebels complained aloud: and the synod of Kells, commanded the dissentient prelate who refused to attend their meeting, to retract on pain of having a complaint made to the pope.

It was probably at the synod of Kells called by Hugh O'Neile titular of Armagh, that the general synod of the Irish prelates at Kilkenny was projected and resolved. At this latter on the 10th May, 1642, the titular archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam, with six other bishops, the proxies of five more, with other dignitaries of the church of Rome, assembled and declared the war just and lawful.* To avoid the risk

* Carte.

of misstating or omitting any of the more peculiar and distinguishing resolutions of this meeting, we shall here offer a few extracts from its own acts; important as best manifesting the feelings and the political character of Ireland, in the time of which we write. As they would occupy many pages if given *in extenso*, we select all that is in any way to our purpose; as stated in

“Acts agreed upon, ordained and concluded in the general congregation held at Kilkenny, the 10th, 11th and 13th days of May, 1642, by those prelates whose names are subscribed, the proctors of such other prelates as then were absent being present, together with the superiors of the regulars, and many other dignitaries and learned men, as well in divine, as in common law, with divers pastors and others of the catholick clergy of all Ireland, whose names are likewise hereafter set down.

“1st. Whereas the war which now in Ireland the catholicks do maintain against sectaries, and chiefly against puritans, for the defence of the catholick religion, for the maintenance of the prerogative and the royal rights of our gracious king Charles, for our gracious queen so unworthily abused by the puritans, for the honour, safety and health of their royal issue, for to avert and refrain the injuries done unto them, for the conversion of the just, and lawful safeguard, liberties and rights of Ireland; and lastly, for the defence of their own lives, fortunes, lands and possessions: whereas I said this war is by the catholicks undertaken for the foresaid causes against unlawful usurpers, oppressors and their enemies, chiefly puritans; and that hereof we are informed as well by divers and true remonstrances of divers provinces, counties and noblemen, as also by the unanimous consent and agreement of almost the whole kingdom in this war and union: We therefore declare that war openly catholick, to be lawful and just, in which war if some of the catholicks be found to proceed out of some particular and unjust title, covetousness, cruelty, revenge or hatred, or any such unlawful private intentions, we declare them therein grievously to sin, and therefore worthy to be punished, and refrained with ecclesiastical censures, if, advised thereof, they do not amend.

“2d. Whereas the adversaries do spread divers rumours, do write divers letters, and under the king's name do print proclamations, which are not the king's, by which means divers plots and dangers may ensue unto our nation; we therefore, to stop the way of untruth and forgeries of the political adversaries, do will and command, that no such rumours, letters, or proclamations, may have place or belief, until it be known in a national council whether they truly proceed from the king, left to his own freedom, and until agents of this kingdom hereafter to be appointed by the national council, have free passage to his majesty, whereby the kingdom may be certainly informed of his majesty's intention and will.

“3d. Whereas no family, city, commonwealth, much less kingdom, may stand without union and concord, without which this kingdom for the present standeth in most danger, we think it therefore necessary that all Irish peers, magistrates, noblemen, cities, and pro-

vinces, may be tied together with the holy bond of union and concord, and that they frame an oath of union and agreement which they shall devoutly, and christianly take, and faithfully observe. And for the conservation and exercise of this union, we have thought fit to ordain the ensuing points.

"4th. We straightly command all our inferiors, as well churchmen as laymen, to make no distinction at all between the old and ancient Irish, and no alienation, comparison, or difference, between provinces, cities, towns or families; and lastly, not to begin, or forward any emulations, or comparisons whatsoever.

"5th. That in every province of Ireland there be a council made up both of clergy and nobility, in which council shall be so many persons at least as are counties in the province; and out of every city or notable town two persons.

"6th. Let one general council of the whole kingdom be made, both of the clergy, nobility, cities, and notable towns; in which council there shall be three out of every province, and out of every city one, or where cities are not, out of the chiefest towns. To this council the provincial councils shall have subordination; and from thence to it may be appealed, until this national council have opportunity to sit together. Again if any thing of great importance do occur, or be conceived in one province, which by a negative vote is rejected in the council of one province, let it be sent to the councils of other provinces; except it be such a matter as cannot be delayed, and which doth not pertain to the weal-publick of the other provinces.

"7th. Embassage sent from one province to foreign nations shall be held as made from the rest of the provinces, and the fruit or benefit thereof shall be imparted and divided between the provinces and cities which have more need thereof, chiefly such helps and fruits as proceed from the bountiful liberality of foreign princes, states, prelates, or others whatsoever; provided always that the charge and damage be proportionably recompensed.

"9th. Let a faithful inventory be made in every province of the murthers, burnings, and other cruelties which are permitted by the puritan enemies, with a quotation of the place, day, cause, manner, and persons, and other circumstances, subscribed by one of publick authority.

"17th. Whereas diverse persons do diversely carry themselves towards this cause; some with helps and supplies do assist the adversaries; others with victuals and arms; others with their advice and authority, supporting as it were the contrary cause; some also as neuters behaving themselves; and others, lastly, neglecting their oath, do forsake the catholick union and cause; we do therefore declare and judge all and every such as do forsake this union, do fight for our enemies, accompany them in their war, defend or in any other way assist them, as giving them weapons, victuals, council or favour, to be excommunicated, and by these presents do excommunicate them; provided that this present decree shall be first published in every diocese respectively, and having received admonition beforehand, which shall supply the treble admonition otherwise requisite, and we do hereby declare, so it be made in the place where it may easily come to the

knowledge of those whom it toucheth. But as touching judgment and punishment of the neuters, we leave it to the ordinaries of every place respectively, so that the ordinaries themselves be not contrary to the judgment and opinion of this congregation; in which cause we commit power to the metropolitans or archbishops to proceed against such ordinaries, according to the common course of law, wherein they are to be very careful and speedy; and if the metropolitans be found herein careless or guilty, let them be liable to such punishment as is ordained by the holy canons, and let them be accused to the see apostolick.

"18th. We ordain a decree that all and every such as from the beginning of this present war, have invaded the possessions of goods as well moveable as unmoveable, spiritual or temporal of any catholick, whether Irish or English, or also of any Irish protestant being not adversary of this cause, and to detain any such goods, shall be excommunicated.

"20th. We will and declare all those that murder, dismember, or grievously strike, all thieves, unlawful spoilers, robbers of any goods, extorters, together with all such as favour, receive, or any ways assist them, to be excommunicated, and so to remain, until they completely amend, and satisfy no less than if they were namely proclaimed excommunicated, and for satisfaction of such crimes hitherto committed to be enjoined, we leave to the discretion of the ordinaries and confessors how to absolve them.

"21st. Tradesmen for making weapons, or powder brought into this country, or hereafter to be brought in, shall be free from all taxations or customs; as also all merchants as shall transport into this country such wares as are profitable for the catholick cause, as arms and powder, may lawfully traffick without paying any custom, for commodities brought out of this kingdom, or transported hither of that kind; and let this be proclaimed in all provinces, cities, and towns.

"22d. We think it convenient, that in the next national congregation, some be appointed out of the nobility and clergy, as ambassadors to be sent in the behalf of the whole kingdom, unto the kings of France and Spain, to the Emperor, and his Holiness, and those to be of the church prelates, or one of the nobility and a lawyer."

In addition to these resolutions, which present a fair view of the political opinions and general character of the party from whom they came, a further view is to be obtained of their more immediate and personal object, from certain propositions specified in an oath of association framed at this meeting, and designed to be taken by all confederates of their party. In this are stated as objects to be maintained by the swearer, that the Roman catholic religion was to be restored to its full splendour and lustre, as it was in the reign of Henry VII. That all penal and restrictive laws were to be annulled—and that "all primates, archbishops, bishops, ordinaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, chancellors, treasurers, chaunters, provosts, wardens of collegiate churches, prebendaries, and other dignitaries, parsons, vicars, and other pastors of the Roman catholick secular clergy, and their respective successors, shall, have, hold, and enjoy, all the churches and church-livings, in as large and ample manner, as the late protestant

clergy respectively enjoyed the same on the 1st day of October, in the year of our Lord 1641; together with all the profits, emoluments, perquisites, liberties, and the rights to their respective sees and churches, belonging as well in all places, now in the possession of the confederate catholicks, as also in all other places that shall be recovered by the said confederate catholicks from the adverse party, within this kingdom, saving to the Roman catholick laity their rights, according to the law of the land."

The assembly of the lords and deputies from the counties was the immediate result of the arrangements made by the congregation of prelates; in conformity with the intent of their summoners they proceeded to pass resolutions to maintain the rights of the church of Rome. They adopted the common law of England and Irish statutes, so far as they were agreeable to their religion, and not contrary to Irish liberty; they confirmed the authority of the king, but declared against that of his Irish government. They then entered into arrangements for the government of the country by their own authority, for then each county was to have its council of twelve, which was to decide all civil causes and to nominate all public officers with the exception of sheriffs. From these councils there lay an appeal to the provincial council, composed of two deputies from each county, to sit four times in the year; and lastly, this council might be appealed from, to the supreme council of twenty-four, elected by the general assembly. This last, was to govern the country and conduct the war. It is only material here to add, that in the very first constitution there is to be discerned an important element of the strong party divisions among the confederates, which are presently to occupy our attention; in adopting the oath of association, which the clerical assembly had prepared for themselves and their party, they rejected the clause already quoted, by which the person swearing was bound not to consent to any peace, until the Roman catholic church should be reinstated in its full splendour. Instead of this, they were content to stipulate for the freedom of their worship. The disposition thus indicated, was quickly shown in the long-continued negotiation for peace and in the cessation, which was presently discussed and settled; but prevented from coming to a definitive settlement by the strenuous and successful manœuvres of the nuncio Rinuccini with the aid of Owen O'Neill.

We come now to Owen O'Neill. He was more indebted to his high reputation, obtained in a long course of foreign service, than to the claim of descent, for the anxious earnestness with which his coming had been sought and his arrival welcomed by his countrymen. In point of lineal pretension to the rank of the O'Neill, to which he for some time appeared to have pretended, his claim was more than balanced by that of Sir Phelim, whose descent, though not derived from the last possessor, was unadulterated by illegitimacy, which affects the line of Colonel Owen at three successive steps, from Con Boccagh to his father Art. While Sir Phelim derived from Owen the grandfather to the same Con Boccagh.

Con, created earl of Tyrone by Henry VII., had, as the reader knows, two sons—the notorious Shane already noticed,* and Matthew,

* Vol. I. p. 251.

a bastard, who was created baron of Dungannon and appointed his successor, but slain at the instigation of Shane. This Matthew left several illegitimate sons, of whom one died, leaving an illegitimate son of his own name, to whom Philip IV. of Spain gave his father's regiment and letters of legitimation, which, however, were to no purpose, sought to be confirmed at Rome. This therefore would seem to be the nearest claim to the representation of the baron of Dungannon. But this person had either too little activity or too much good sense, to prosecute a claim so likely to be productive of more buffets than acres; and died without any effort to regain the honours of his race. Another son of the baron of Dungannon, also illegitimate, had lived to transmit his name by the same questionable title to a son, Art O'Neile, who we are left to presume, broke the custom of the family by leaving a family of sons, born in wedlock; of these Owen was the youngest.*

Owen served in the Spanish army and obtained early promotion. He was a person of very considerable experience and ability; well versed in the ways of men, brave, cautious, skilful in war, and possessing the manners and habits of a foreign gentleman. Having passed through all the subordinate ranks he was made a colonel, and obtained very distinguished reputation, by his successful defence of Arras, against the French in 1640.

After the violence of the first irregular outbreak was subdued, more by the separate efforts of individuals than by the councils or resources of the government, the insurrection began to subside as suddenly as it had commenced. There was no real strength, or with the exception of those who were the depositaries of a foreign design, no real inclination to continue a strife, of which the loss of life and property had been so severely felt on either side.

The state of the rebel chiefs in Ulster was at the point of desperation, when a fresh impulse was given to their hopes, by the news of the arrival of colonel Owen O'Neile, who in the middle of July, landed in Donegal, with arms and ammunition, and one hundred officers. The general effect thus produced was immediate and extensive, and the courage and hopes of the rebels were universally revived. This result was confirmed both by the conduct of Owen O'Neile, and the coincidence of other favourable circumstances; other formidable armaments and supplies, began to crowd in in rapid succession from foreign ports. Of these, two ships arrived in the harbour of Wexford with military stores, and colonel Thomas Preston followed with a ship of the line and two frigates, with a train of artillery, a company of engineers, and five hundred officers. Twelve other vessels soon after arrived with further stores, officers, and men, sent by Richelieu, and disciplined in continental war. The character and consistency of the rebel force, was thus at once raised to a military footing; while the English had deteriorated in an equal degree. The increasing dissensions between the king and parliament were on the point of breaking into war; the powers on either side were collecting into a state of anxious and watchful concentration; neither men nor money could be spared, nor was there a thought to be bestowed on Ireland farther than, as it

* Carte, I. 349.

might in any way be the excuse for preparation, or the pretext for levies. The Irish government, and the commanders, who had hitherto kept a superiority under all disadvantages in the field, had exhausted their efforts, and were quite unprepared for this fresh infusion of vigour in the rebel party. The rebels, besides being well supplied, commanded the channel, seized the supplies, and cut off the trade of Dublin and every other port within the reach of their cruisers.

O'Neile had the double advantage of caution and decision, he wasted no time in inactivity, but at once advanced to take advantage of these favourable circumstances. He was "a man of clear head and good judgment, sober, moderate, silent, excellent in disguising his sentiments, and well versed in the arts and intrigues of courts."* On his arrival a meeting was held at Kinard, the castle of Sir Phelim, where he was unanimously declared their head by the rebel gentry of Ulster, a post soon confirmed by the council of Kilkenny. The first step he took was creditable to him, but must have been galling to the pride of Sir Phelim. He publicly declared his horror and detestation of the robberies and massacres, which till then had been the main conduct of the rebellion, and most of all of Sir Phelim. Colonel O'Neile told his sanguinary and brutal kinsman, that, he deserved to receive himself the cruelties he had inflicted; he burned the houses of several of the notorious murderers at Kinard, where Sir Phelim had collected a ruffian vicinity around his house, stained as it was by every detestable outrage against the laws of God and man. He next addressed himself to fortify Charlemont fort, against an expected siege. When describing the reduced condition of the government, and the destitution of the English of all present means of resistance, we should perhaps not have omitted to estimate the large force of general Monroe, who at the head of ten thousand Scots, occupied a strong position in Carrickfergus, and held the command of Ulster; but the reasons for this omission will presently appear. Monroe had his own objects independent of the settlement of Irish affairs, or he had his orders from those who had an opposite purpose; without this allowance his conduct was such as to betray no small incapacity for offensive warfare. He avoided all direct interference when it might have been of decisive avail, and contented himself with the seizure of such forts and castles as might be effected without any risk; and we cannot doubt that, the agreement by which they were thus put into possession of the strongest and most important province of this island, was altogether designed to circumvent and embarrass the king, to overrule any circumstances from which he might hope to derive an advantage, and to occupy the ground for the future designs of the parliamentary leaders. True to this convention, Monroe steadily resisted the demonstrations in favour of the royal cause, seized on the known adherents of the king, refused all aid to the government leaders, and let the rebels do as they pleased, so long as this course was compatible with his own safety and the designs of his real party, the parliamentarians of England.

In the month of August he was joined by lord Leven, with

* Carte.

the remainder of the stipulated army from Scotland. Lord Leven addressed a letter to O'Neile, in which he expressed his astonishment that one of his rank and respectable reputation, should have come to Ireland to support a cause so bad. O'Neile replied, that he had a better right to defend his own country, than his lordship to march into England against his king.

Lord Leven's exploits were limited to this effort of diplomacy, he returned to Scotland, having assured Monroe that he would be defeated if once O'Neile should get an army together. Before his departure he refused to permit the removal of the government stores from Carrickfergus. This act of opposition, with the continued inaction of the Scotch under Monroe, was perhaps correctly interpreted by the Irish when they assumed, that there was nothing to be apprehended from Monroe, with his ten thousand Scots and an equal force of English and Irish troops; he lay still, and suffered O'Neile to make all his arrangements, and to collect and discipline his army till the following spring. In the mean time the army under Monroe was not improving in its condition. The parliament, which merely designed to overawe the country and to hold it in occupation, were sparing in their supplies: the regiments of Stewart, Cole, &c., who had commanded in the king's name, were altogether excluded from the commission of parliament, and received no pay during that year, in which their nearly unsupported efforts had actually suppressed the rebellion. The rebels were better provided for by the continual supplies from abroad; on the 20th of October, two thousand muskets came from the pope to Wexford, of which five hundred were sent by the council of Kilkenny to O'Neile.

In this general state of things, the remainder of the year 1642 passed away. The rebels were obtaining strength in most quarters; and the English officers who have already appeared in many severe toils and brave achievements, were with their own unsupported and impoverished resources, maintaining a doubtful, but brave and skilful resistance, about the counties of the ancient pale. Efforts such as they made to obtain money, were met by promises which were not kept. The parliament which had no wish either to part with means or to end the rebellion, artfully directed applications to the king, which were brought forward by their own adherents, in the obvious hope of inducing him to waste his means on the rebellion, as well as to compromise himself on one side or the other. For the rebels had assumed the place of loyalists, and a little backwardness on the part of his majesty might be interpreted into a formidable accusation, while the contrary course must have the effect of involving him in fresh hostility, and a ruinous division of his resources. Of these incidents we shall have to bring forward large details.

Monroe lay still till the next May; but, finding his resources fast diminishing, and feeling himself pressed by approaching necessities, while the growth of a formidable enemy was beginning to control his motions, he was at length incited to effort. He had wasted and impoverished the country round Carrickfergus, and now hoped to obtain relief by the surprise of O'Neile; with this purpose he marched his army with fast and secret expedition into Armagh. Owen O'Neile

occupied a position in which Charlemont fort was included, with a small body of about four hundred men. His antagonist had conducted his approach with successful caution; and, little dreaming of an enemy, he was out hunting when his sight was arrested by a gleam of weapons, and the rapid advance of a large host, which his experienced eye recognised for an enemy. Without an instant's hesitation he spurred at full speed to his fortress. He was late to escape a disadvantageous, because very unequal collision, but the inequality of force was more than balanced by the clear head and cool resolution, with which he availed himself of his knowledge of the ground. For an hour he resisted the utmost efforts of Monroe's men, in a lane thickly enclosed with copses, and at last succeeded in withdrawing into the fort without the loss of a man. Monroe, thinking to forage through the surrounding country seized on every pass, and collected a considerable supply of cattle; but on the following day, he was attacked by colonel Sandford, and routed with great loss.

O'Neile was next menaced by a small army under the command of lord Montgomery and colonel Chichester. He soon ascertained that they merely came to look for spoil, and wisely resolving not to throw away his resources, he was content to foil their purpose by causing the cattle to be driven away. He then pursued his way towards Leitrim, but in passing through the county of Monaghan, he had the ill fortune to meet a small body of regular soldiers under the command of Sir Robert Stewart and his brother, at Clonish, on the borders of Fermanagh. The results of this incident we have already had occasion to describe. The force of Stewart was about half that of O'Neile, but owing to the great numbers of cattle and of country people under his escort, the latter commander was only enabled to bring 1600 men to the encounter. In this respect they were therefore equal. O'Neile had, however, the advantage of a strong position guarded by a difficult pass. In despite of this advantage, which must of itself have been decisive, with troops of equal efficiency, Stewart forced the pass, and defeated Owen O'Neile with prodigious slaughter.

Owen O'Neile, who had in this affair a very narrow escape from being slain in an encounter with captain Stewart, after the fight escaped back to Charlemont, from whence after a few days, according to his previous intention, he made his way to Leitrim. There he continued for the purpose of recruiting his forces, and watching for an effective occasion to come forward again; and such was his expedition and popularity, that twelve days had not elapsed when he was enabled again to move on into Westmeath, as strong as ever in men.

Some time previous to the battle of Clonish, the marquess of Ormonde had the king's directions to enter into treaty with the rebels; the condition of his affairs made him look to Ireland as a last resource; and about the time that O'Neile was on his flight to Charlemont fort, the marquess was opening a negotiation with the council of Kilkenny. Of this, we reserve the detail for a more appropriate place. This negotiation was protracted and interrupted during its course by the designs of the several parties engaged on either side. It will be here enough to mention, that the national assembly was composed of two parties, wholly distinct in their objects. The moderate lay party, who were

earnestly desirous to bring matters to a pacific termination, such as to secure their properties and personal immunities; and the ecclesiastical party, which supported both by the court of Rome and by the popular sense, were for pushing their real or supposed advantages, and resisting all treaty short of a full and entire reduction of the country to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Roman see. In this divided state of the rebel party, the negotiation was rendered additionally precarious by the hostile demonstrations of Owen O'Neile and of Preston, who were more immediately under the influence of the ecclesiastical party; nor was it less the desire of the marquess of Ormonde to avail himself of these warlike demonstrations, if possible to obtain in the mean time some decided advantage in the field. Another consideration rendered this desirable; both O'Neile and Preston were endeavouring to place themselves under circumstances such that in case of a cessation of arms they would be enabled to extend their position, and organize efficiently along the borders of the pale, an army by which on the first violation of the treaty, or on its termination, they would have a command over these counties. And this was the more to be apprehended, as the resources of the government parties in Ireland, (also twofold, royal and parliamentary,) were likely during any cessation to be absorbed by the English rebellion. Such is a summary sketch of the state of affairs, at the time of O'Neile's advance to Mullingar, about the 24th of June, 1643.

Under these circumstances, every effort to bring together any efficient body of men commanded by a competent leader, against the strong armies of O'Neile and Preston, amounting to upwards of 12,000 men, was found quite impracticable. The king, engaged in a treaty with the rebels, was more anxious to obtain than able to afford means for resistance; the parliament were as little willing to waste a penny on a contest of little direct importance. There was therefore no effective force in the field against the rebels; and while lord Castlehaven was taking possession of the forts in Wicklow and the Queen's County, and Preston with 7000 men securing the harvests of Meath, Owen O'Neile with upwards of 5000 foot and 700 good cavalry, entered Westmeath with the same design; nor did he stop, till he had stripped the country "from the county of Cavan to the barony of Slane."* He was then joined by an army under Sir James Dillon, and with him took the castles of Killallan, Balratty, Ballibeg, Beckliffe, Balsonne, and Ardsallagh, and laid siege to Athboy, with the intention to take all the places of strength in Meath. The Irish government in Dublin, had to no purpose endeavoured to oppose these advances, by drawing a portion of the only efficient force in their possession, and then under the command of Monroe in Ulster. To this Monroe objected, and refused to part with any portion of the army under his orders. It was while O'Neile was engaged in the siege of Athboy, that he was attacked by a small party under lord Moore, who, as we have already related, lost his life by a cannon shot. The government force were not enabled, however, to keep the field long

* Carte.

enough to offer any effectual check, and the Irish confederates went on taking castles without any resistance, until the treaty conducted by the marquess of Ormonde ended in a cessation, concluded on the 15th September, between the marquess and the commissioners.

During the continuance of this cessation, many occurrences both civil and military, in both countries, were working to complicate the position of the several parties. They may for the present, be summed in the two facts, that the affairs of the king were becoming more urgent and desperate, and those of the parliament more ascendant. In Ireland one strong party continued to labour successfully to prevent any accommodation of a permanent nature between the king and the rebels. This party the king on his part endeavoured to conciliate by manoeuvres (which we shall hereafter relate) of lamentable perverseness and duplicity. The parliament, anxious to prevent his obtaining aid from this country, resenting the assistance he had already received after the Cessation, and also apprehending the result of a further treaty, which might end in placing Ormonde at the head of the moderate party of the confederates, entered into a nearer understanding with Monroe and the army of Ulster, to whom they sent an immediate supply, at the same time ordering them to commence certain hostile movements, at the same time that their faithful officer Coote in the west, was directed to reduce Sligo.

The Scotch, who had been latterly wavering and on the point of coming to an understanding with Ormonde, were happy to close with terms so desirable; and active hostilities were thus commencing while a dilatory treaty of peace was arriving at its conclusion. We are now brought to the year 1645, in which these combinations reached their effective results. At this time, the cabinet of Rome alarmed by the reports of a peace in which the confederates were to abandon the cause of the church, and to be united under a leader not in its interests, sent over the nuncio Rinuncini, with a view still more effectually to arrest in their progress proceedings so ungrateful to the policy of his court. Rinuncini had received for the purpose of his mission £12,000 from the pope, of which he expended the half in arms and military stores, and remitted the remainder to Ireland. After considerable delays in France, where it was attempted by the queen of England and her friends to cajole him from all his purposes, he reached this country in July, and lost no time in protesting against any peace not framed at Rome, or in any way opposed to the interests of the pope. He objected to any treaty with the marquess of Ormonde, recommended union and the strenuous prosecution of war, without regard to the king or any thought of peace. He urged the expediency and necessity of looking to the pope as their only support and head; but as there was a very strong party opposed to these views, and as the general sense of the confederates was in favour of the course against which he thus declared, it became necessary to look for some other force to counterbalance this temper, and to overawe the Irish laity into compliance: and for this he had recourse to O'Neile.

We have thus arrived (by a forced march,) to the year 1645, when Monroe, with the army under his orders, had been induced to decide for the parliament. Owen O'Neile was especially recommended to

the nuncio by many considerations. He was not alone a leader of tried ability commanding a strong force, but he was discontented with a treaty of which the conclusion was to be also the end of his own expectations; his interest was the prolongation of a war, which, under the name of a restoration, would put him into possession of lands, once the property of his ancestors. The force he had collected was composed of a most dissolute class of persons, who had no home or means of subsistence, and chiefly maintained themselves by irregular service, either as soldiers or robbers, as occasion served; they were zealous for the continuance of war, which afforded their subsistence, and only desired to avail themselves to the fullest of its opportunities for plunder. These were easily collected, and were the more adapted to the immediate views of the nuncio, as they were deeply incensed against the moderate party, who were then preponderant in the council, and had been so provoked by their atrocities that they had ordered them to be resisted by force of arms. To their leader, therefore, Rinuncini addressed himself, and assured him that his entire means should be employed for the support of his army; and, in earnest of this promise, he gave him a considerable sum. With such strong inducements, O'Neile advanced toward Armagh.

On receiving intelligence of this, Monroe prepared to repel an advance which he felt to be an encroachment on his limits, and of which the permission must be hazardous to his further expectation of maintaining his own position of authority. He marched towards the city of Armagh, and learned on his way that the troops of Owen O'Neile were encamped at Benburb, a place nearly six miles from Armagh, and memorable for the bloody battles of which, in earlier times, it had been the scene: thither Monroe directed his march on the following morning.

O'Neile was advantageously posted between two hills, with a wood on his rear and the Blackwater on his right. He had drawn out his cavalry upon one of the hills by which his position was flanked, when he saw the forces of Monroe, about 6000 strong, marching on the other side of the river. He had also heard of a reinforcement which was coming up to their aid from Coleraine. As the Blackwater was considered difficult to pass, O'Neile considered an immediate attack not to be expected, and that he might therefore detach a strong party to meet George Monroe, who was bringing the expected companies to join his brother. G. Monroe was advancing from Dungannon, when he saw the Irish cavalry on the approach; he was at the instant fortunately near some strongly fenced fields, in which he drew out his men so advantageously that the cavalry could not charge them. A detachment of foot was yet coming up at a distance, and it was hard to say what might be the result of their arrival; but other incidents had meanwhile occurred, a cannonade was heard in the direction of the main army, and the approaching detachment turning at the sound, hurried back upon their way.

Contrary to the expectation of Owen O'Neile, the Scotch had contrived to ford the river at a place called Battle Bridge, near Kinard, and were soon rapidly advancing in his front. To retard their approach, O'Neile sent a regiment to occupy a pass on the way; a brisk fire

from Monroe's artillery dislodged them, and they returned in good order. It was yet, in the strong and guarded position which he possessed, easy for O'Neile to prevent an immediate attack, and he resolved on delaying this event for some hours. He observed, that the sun would towards evening be on his rear, and as it sunk towards the forest, present a disadvantage of the most formidable nature to the Scots, by casting its glare upon their faces. Nor indeed is it easy to conceive a circumstance more likely to decide a fight. With this view, Owen O'Neile exerted no inconsiderable skill for four hours in keeping up a succession of skirmishes, and baffling the attention of his enemy by manoeuvres adapted to keep him engaged without any decided step towards a general attack. He was also in expectation of a strong party which was on its march to join him. It was near sunset when this expected reinforcement came up: Monroe had mistaken them for his brother's party, and experienced no slight vexation when he saw them join the enemy. He also saw that it was impossible now to commence the battle unless under great disadvantages, and there was even much to be apprehended should his antagonist assume the offensive. He very injudiciously ordered a retreat—than which under the circumstances described, no movement could be so certain to bring on an attack and to throw every advantage into the hands of O'Neile. The two armies were but a few hundred paces asunder, and the Scottish lines were beginning their retrogressive movement, when just as their order was irrecoverable, the Irish came rushing impetuously but in excellent order down the hill, horse and foot, and were instantaneously charging through the broken lines of Monroe's army. To render the charge more decisive, Owen had commanded them to reserve their fire until they were within a few pikes' length of the Scots, an order which they executed with perfect accuracy. Under this unexpected and terrific attack, the Scots confounded, separated, and dazzled by a nearly horizontal sun, could not of course have any hope of resistance. Their native sturdiness of character, and their habits of discipline which rendered them reluctant to fly before an enemy which they despised, much aggravated the slaughter; for scattered into groups and confused masses, they were slain in detail and without the power of resistance. Some of their parties were more fortunate than others, in being enabled to act together, but with little avail, for they were isolated, nor was there any considerable body of Monroe's army enabled to act in concert. Among the most desperate instances of protracted resistance, was that of lord Blaney, who fought at the head of his regiment of English, until he with most of his men left their bodies on the spot. Lord Montgomery was taken with 21 officers and 150 men, and 3248 of Monroe's army were reckoned on the field which was covered with the dead, while numbers more were next day killed in pursuit.* Owen O'Neile had but 70 killed and 200 wounded, a fact which if duly considered confirms this statement, and clearly indicates the absence of any regular resistance.

To render this advantage the more decisive, O'Neile became possessed of the arms of the enemy, including four good cannons, with the entire of their tents, baggage, and stores, along with 1500 draught

* Carte.

horses, and two months provisions. Monroe left his coat and wig to augment the spoil, and fled for his life to Lisnagarvey.* The consternation was great and universal through the north, and not without substantial grounds: the army of O'Neile was not quite so formidable for its military character, or for the skill of its leader, as for the dissolute character of the lawless desperadoes of which it was composed. O'Neile too had after some time appeared to have divested himself of much of the more civilized habits of European warfare, and to manifest a temper not altogether unsuited to the composition of his army. He soon felt the influence of disappointment, in finding that he was compelled to act either subordinately or in opposition to those whom he had hoped to command with the power of a dictator. He had come over to take the place and secure the rank and property of the O'Niall; but the body of the confederacy looked for a peace fatal to his hopes and looked upon him with distrust and fear; his policy was opposed by Preston, whose means and army were superior to his own, and he was reduced to be the mercenary instrument of the arrogant and shallow Rinuncini, at the beck of whose ambition he was now in the moment of success compelled to abandon the inviting prospect which lay before his march. Immediately after the battle of Benburb, he received a message from the nuncio to congratulate him on the victory, and desire his presence in the vicinity of Kilkenny for the purpose of aiding him in breaking off the treaty of peace.

Notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the parties opposed to it, the voice of the better and larger class of the confederates for a moment prevailed. The peace was concluded, but the herald by whom it was proclaimed, in many of the towns which he had to visit in this discharge of his office, received violent ill treatment from the mob, which was every where under the influence of the belligerent faction. No sooner did the event reach the nuncio's ears, than he sent £4000 with a supply of gunpowder to Owen O'Neile, and called a meeting at Waterford of the prelates whom he had under his more immediate control, for the purpose of taking the most violent measures to interrupt a proceeding opposed to the views of his mission. They discharged this office with a decision and violence far beyond the cautious and tempered policy of the court of Rome. Interdicts and excommunications were decreed against all who should consent to the treaty. The priests, secular and regular, who should presume to raise their voices in behalf of peace were to be suspended. The council of Kilkenny was to be deprived of all authority, and their orders were to be disobeyed under pain of excommunication.

But Rinuncini had, as we have said, overacted his part, and erred in opposite directions from his instructions. He first received a reprimand for acting contrary to the order by which he had been commanded, that in case of peace being made he should not act in any way further. In reply, Rinuncini sent over to Rome, the copy of a speech which he had made to the council of Kilkenny; this brought upon him a reprimand still more severe from cardinal Pamphilio, in whose letter of May 6, 1646, he is told, "for that See would never by any positive

* Carte.

act approve the civil allegiance which catholic subjects pay to an heretical prince." From this maxim of theirs had arisen the great difficulties and disputes in England, about the oath of allegiance, since the time of Henry VIII., and the displeasure of the pope was the greater, because the nuncio had left a copy of his speech with the council, which, if it came to be published, would furnish heretics with arguments against the papal authority over heretical princes, when the pope's own minister should exhort catholics to be faithful to such a king. The nuncio was directed to "get back the original of that speech, and all copies thereof which had been spread abroad, and to take greater care for the future never to indulge such a way of talking in publick conferences." This reprimand did not altogether effect the purpose of restraining the meddling and incautious temper of the nuncio, and he soon drew upon himself a further reproof, by entering too hastily into the policy of the Irish ecclesiastics, which although subservient to their Church, yet had necessarily in it some alloy of expediency. These prelates could not so abstract themselves from all the prejudices of public feeling, or from all ideas of justice and national expediency, as to act with a single and exclusive reference to the policy of the Roman See. They drew up a protest against the peace, in which they refused their consent "unless secure conditions were made, according to the oath of association, for religion, the king and the country."* For signing this, the nuncio received another instructive reproof. He was informed in a letter from cardinal Pamphilio, "that it had been the constant and uninterrupted practice of the see of Rome, never to allow her ministers to make or consent to publick edicts of even catholick subjects, for the defence of the crown and person of an heretical prince; and that this conduct of his furnished pretence to her adversaries, to reflect upon her deviating from those maxims and rules to which she had ever yet adhered. The pope knew very well how difficult it was in such assemblies, to separate the rights of religion from those which relate to the obedience professed by the catholicks to the king, and would therefore be satisfied if he did not show by any public act, that he either knew or consented to such public protestations of that allegiance, which for political considerations the catholicks were either forced or willing to make."

The nuncio made his apology, and rested his defence on the consideration, that the oath "was sworn to by all the bishops without any scruple; and it was so thoroughly rooted in the minds of all the Irish, even the clergy, that if he had in the least opposed it, he would presently have been suspected of having other views besides those of a mere nunciature; which without any such handle had been already charged upon him by the disaffected."

Rinuncini did what he could to repair errors so offensive to his court, prevailing over the minds of the prelates and clergy, who were (the latter especially) inclined to more moderate views. He launched on every side the threats and thunders of the papal see; and the minds of the people were soon controlled or conciliated by the power of such effective appeals. The effect on the upper classes was different; they

* Carte, from the nuncio's narrative.

did not relinquish their anxious purpose to conclude the peace, but were in some measure compelled to yield to the storm and pursue their design with added caution. They drew up an appeal from the censures of the Italian and the bishops who supported him, but they were deterred from its publication, and subsided into inaction; they were indeed without the means for any effective proceeding—their unpaid soldiers, were little disposed to obey them in opposition to their priests, and the magistrates who depended upon these for authority and in some measure for protection, were not more acquiescent. Unable to enforce by authority they endeavoured to gain their opponents by treaty, and thus, without obtaining the slightest concession they betrayed the dangerous secret of their own weakness: the entire control of the army and the conduct of the war were the least of the demands, which they received in reply from their clerical adversaries. This indeed was daily becoming less a matter at their discretion; for not only Owen O’Neile rejected their authority, but Preston had also assumed an independent tone, and made it generally doubtful with whom he meant to side. Under these circumstances an effort was made by the marquess of Ormonde to gain O’Neile, to whom he sent a relation Daniel O’Neile, to offer him the confirmation of his present commands and the custodium of such lands of “O’Neilan,” as were held by persons opposed to the king, upon the condition of his joining to bring about the peace. Owen O’Neile rejected these offers, he could not do less, he had received large sums from the nuncio, whose lavish liberality reached beyond his own means, and had already compelled him to borrow largely from the Spanish ambassador. From this liberal paymaster O’Neile had received £9000.

The marquess of Ormonde himself visited Kilkenny, in the hope to expedite by his presence the conclusion of the treaty. But he had scarcely arrived when intelligence came from several quarters of the approach of O’Neile, and it soon became sufficiently apparent, that Owen’s object was to intercept his return to the capital, or to surprise him in Kilkenny. The troops of Ormonde, were but a few companies, those of O’Neile were at the lowest statement 12,000 men, and daily increasing. His designs were only to be inferred from his line of march, as he was remarkable for the reserve with which he guarded the secret of his designs; but the priests who accompanied his march, had communicated the fact that his course was for Kilkenny; and it was further affirmed on the same authority, that “if the lord-lieutenant, would not admit of Glamorgan’s peace,* they would treat him in a manner too scandalous to be mentioned, and prevent his return to Dublin; that they should be 20,000 strong within a fortnight, and would in their turn plunder all places that should not join them against the peace.”

On receiving these accounts the marquess hastily returned to Dublin, and had little time to spare, for he had not gone far when he received a visit from lord Castlehaven, who apprized him that both Preston and O’Neile were in league to intercept him, and were then mak-

* This refers to the secret instructions from the king to the earl of Glamorgan, to concede the utmost demands of the papal party; it is not as yet essential to the general history of events, and we shall fully state it hereafter.

ing rapid marches for that purpose. On this he pressed his march towards Leighlin bridge, that he might place the Barrow between his little company and so formidable an enemy. O'Neile pressed on to Kilcullen, and the march of the English under the command of Willoughby was for some time harassed with anxious apprehension of a surprise, for which they were but ill prepared. Among other disadvantages it was accidentally discovered that the powder which had been distributed to the soldiers, was useless and refused to explode. On inquiry it was found to be a portion of the ammunition, which the Irish had been allowed to supply as part payment of the sum agreed on for the king in the articles of the cessation.

Owen O'Neile now turned towards Kilkenny, whither his employer was anxious to return in power. In common with Rinuncini, Owen had an aching void for vindictive retaliation, upon those by whom his own authority had been set at nought and his service rejected; and the occasion was gladly seized for such a triumph—more dear to each than any advantage over their common adversaries. On the 17th Sept., 1646, O'Neile took Roscrea; and displayed by his conduct the reality or else the deterioration of his character, by the indiscriminate butchery of man, woman, and child; lady Hamilton, sister to the marquess of Ormonde, and a few gentlemen of prominent respectability, he reserved as prisoners. He took the castle of Kilkenny on the 16th, and on the 18th, Rinuncini entered the city in solemn procession. His first act was to imprison the members of the supreme council, with the exception of Darcy and Plunket. With them, such of the surrounding gentry as had favoured the peace, were at the same time ordered to be arrested by Preston.

Through this favourable turn of circumstances, and supported by the devoted services of his powerful retainer O'Neile, the nuncio now found himself apparently at the height of his ambition; he appointed a council of four bishops, in whom with a few select laymen the government was declared to be vested; of these he assumed the presidency both in spiritual and temporal concerns, and in the fulness of his satisfaction, thus addressed his master, "this age has never seen so unexpected and wonderful a change, and if I was writing not a relation, but a history to your holiness, I should compare it to the most famous success in Europe, and show how true it is that every part of the world is capable of noble events, though all have not the talents necessary to bring them about. The clergy of Ireland so much despised by the Ormondists, were in the twinkling of an eye masters of the kingdom: soldiers, officers, and generals strove who should fight for the clergy, drawn partly by a custom of following the strongest side; and at last the supreme council being deprived of all authority, and confounded with amazement to see obedience denied them, all the power and authority of the confederates devolved upon the clergy."*

In the exultation of his heart, the nuncio thought himself master of the kingdom, and among other ambitious arrangements which occupied his heated fancy, he wrote to consult the pope on the adjustment of ceremonies between himself and the person whom he should place at the

* Carte.

head of the civil government. To obtain possession of Dublin, became now the great object of his wishes. It was his desire to employ Owen O'Neile in the sole command of this important enterprise, but his counsellors knew better than he could know the danger of such a preference over Preston, who held by appointment the military command of Leinster, and would not fail to show his resentment by deserting their cause. The nuncio was made sensible of this risk and yielded: but gratified his preference by giving 9000 dollars to O'Neile, while he only gave £150 to Preston. Both these generals drew towards the metropolis. On the way many incidents took place, which strongly excited their sense of rivalry, and for a time it was a matter undecided whether they should attack each other or join their arms in the common cause.

Many circumstances which we shall have to state in detail in our memoir of the duke of Ormonde, were at the same time occurring to prevent this enterprise against Dublin, from being carried to any issue. We shall here, therefore, relate so much as more immediately appertains to the rebel camps. Owen O'Neile on his march to Dublin took many towns and places of strength in the Queen's county: but conducted himself in such a manner as to excite the resentment of the Leinster gentry. In consequence, they rose in arms, and joined the ranks of his rival Preston, who was generally known to have a strong leaning to the king and the duke of Ormonde, and a decided hatred to Owen O'Neile, who both hated and despised him in return. It then was for some days discussed, between Preston and his friends, whether he might not have a good chance of defeating his rival in the field. He even entered on a treaty with lord Digby, and offered, if he "might have reasonable security for his religion,"* that he would obey the marquess of Ormonde, and join his forces against O'Neile.

While this treaty was under discussion, the two armies were advancing toward Dublin. On the 9th November Preston reached Lucan, and on the 11th Owen O'Neile arrived with the nuncio. The two generals thus brought together, present a combination not unsuited for the purposes of romance: their separate views, their opposite characters, their mutual hate, and their common cause and position, offer the varied threads of moral and incidental interest, which admit of being pursued and interwoven into a many-coloured web of incident and passion. The nuncio Rinuncini, with all the strong lines of national temperament—the part he had to act—the character in which he stood: ambitious, zealous, crafty, shallow, over-reaching and deceived, confident in his real ignorance of those he had to deal with, and deceived by every surrounding indication amongst a people he could not understand, yet, not without reason, looking with contempt on their ignorance and barbarism—affords a figure not unsuited for the foreground, and for striking contrast and deep shadow of plot, scene, or group. The combinations of moral fiction, are but faithful to reality: the difference is little more than that between the unrecorded incidents which pass away only to be remembered by the actors, and

* Carte.

those which are brought before the eye of the world: and romance itself when true to nature, is no more than the result of incidents which are always occurring. The two Irish leaders who then occupied the town of Lucan, doubtful whether they were to attack each other in the mutual and bloody strife for pre-eminence, or march together in a common cause, about which neither of them cared, were watched by the Italian with an anxious and apprehensive eye. Seeing the mutual temper which they took little pains to disguise, he laboured to reconcile them, and to infuse a common spirit for the service which he alone regarded as the prime object of regard. "O'Neile," says Carte, "was a man of few words, phlegmatic in his proceedings, an admirable concealer of his own sentiments, and very jealous of the designs of others. Preston was very choleric, and so unguarded in his passion, that he openly declared all his resentments, and broke out even in councils of war, into rash expressions of which he had frequently cause to repent."* To reconcile these jarring opposites, was too much for the craft of Rinuncini, and the danger from their dissension seemed so great, that he saw no better resource against the consequence than to imprison Preston. But this was opposed by the secret council which he brought together to advise with on the question: they thought that by such an act, the province of Leinster would be offended, and that the army of Preston also would be likely to become outrageous in their resentment. While this matter was under discussion, O'Neile was himself in a state of no small apprehension, from the suspected designs of Preston, whose heat of temper made it more to be feared, that he might adopt some decided step. Preston was no less distrustful of the dark and brooding enmity of O'Neile; and thus while Rinuncini was labouring to reconcile them, they took more pains to guard against each others' designs, than to adopt means of offence or defence against the enemy. In this interval was anxiously discussed the lord-lieutenant's proposals for a peace, made through the earl of Clanricarde, who came forward at the desire of Preston. He offered a repeal of all penalties against the members of the church of Rome; that no alteration should be made in the possession of churches, until the king's pleasure should be made known in a general settlement; that these articles should be confirmed by the queen and prince and guaranteed by the king of France. These terms fell far short of the aims of Rinuncini, and were equally unsatisfactory, though for different reasons to Owen O'Neile. The nuncio desired nothing short of the complete subjection, temporal and spiritual, of the island to his master; Owen desired neither more nor less than the acquisition of the estates of the O'Neiles of Tyrone.

This anxious and manifold game of diplomacy, discussion, and undermining, continued from the 11th to the 16th. On this day they were met in council, and the debate ran high, when a messenger came to the door and told them, that the English forces were landed and received into Dublin.† The thread of argument was cut short, and the cobweb of intrigue broken, by a sentence—fear, and hate, and design, and ambition, stood paralyzed by the unexpected intelligence

* Carte's Ormonde, page 589.

† Carte's Ormonde.

An instant of silence followed, in which it is probable all looked at each other, and each considered what was best for himself. Owen O'Neile started on his feet and left the room—his example was followed by Preston, and in the course of one minute from the messenger's appearance, the room was empty.

Owen O'Neile called together his troops by a cannon shot, and put them in motion, they crossed the Liffey at Leixlip, on a bridge hastily put together from the timber of houses, and marched through Meath into the Queen's county. The nuncio returned to Kilkenny. Preston signed a peace for himself; but acted so inconsistently, that it was hard to say to which side he belonged. O'Neile had now many disadvantages to encounter. Besides the danger to be apprehended from the junction of his enemy Preston, with the king's party, he had damped considerably the zeal of many of his own confederates, by the arrogance of his bearing, and by the exorbitant pretensions which had latterly begun to display themselves. His claims to the dignity and estates of the O'Neiles, were offensive to Sir Phelim, as well as to Alexander Macdonell, whose regiments were ready to desert.* The nuncio too was himself beginning to entertain fears of the vast and inordinate pretensions of his favourite general; while generally the character of the native Ulster men, by whom he was supported, was such as to convey suspicion and fear into the breast of every one of English descent. It began to be fully comprehended, that while religious creeds were made the pretext and the blind, the main object of the lower classes engaged in rebellion, as well as of their leaders, was a war of the Irish against the English, and that plunder was its real and main object. Above all the growing sense of his character and known designs, had made O'Neile an object of terror to the gentry of every party: he was in possession of several counties of Leinster, where he was thoroughly feared and disliked; and the nuncio was with difficulty enabled to keep Kilkenny from his grasp.

The assembly convened in Kilkenny, to treat upon the conditions of peace, met in the beginning of 1647. We shall not need to enter here upon the questions which they entertained, or the terms which they generally agreed upon. The result was the rejection of the peace: and the marquess finding all his efforts frustrated, came at length to the decision, to give up the further management of the kingdom into the hands of the English parliament, as the last hope for the safety of the protestants and of the upper classes. A treaty with parliament was the consequence, during which the national assembly were awed into a more conceding temper, both by their apprehension of the consequences of such a result, and also by a formidable demonstration of force, under their enemy lord Inchiquin, in Munster. Thus influenced they renewed their treaty with Ormonde, whom they offered to join against the parliament—but added, that they should insist upon the terms already proposed in the late assembly. To guard against the danger of any movement of lord Inchiquin, they were compelled to have recourse to Preston, as Owen O'Neile had now thrown off all authority, and come to the resolution of adopting no cause but his own.

* Carte.

The truth is probably, that he had found the resources of the nuncio beginning to run dry: and though he still found an object in calling his army the "Pope's army," he kept an exclusive eye to the one point, of strengthening himself, and maintaining his forces by the most shameless plunder.

On the 28th July, 1647, the marquess of Ormonde having concluded his treaty with the parliament, left the kingdom. The supreme council had transferred their sittings to Clonmel, the forces under their authority were placed under the command of the earl of Antrim, and were in a state of disunion not to be suppressed by the terrors of lord Inchiquin, who was in the mean time wasting the country. An intrigue of the earl of Antrim, to set aside lord Muskerry from his share in the command, ended in the triumph of the latter, and lord Antrim was (to the nuncio's great vexation,) himself deprived of the command, which was given to his rival. This army and the gentry of Munster became at the same time so much alarmed by the conduct of Owen O'Neile, that they presented a remonstrance to the council, in which they expressed themselves strongly, and afford clear ideas, at least, of the nature of the fears which he excited; for this reason we here give the passage extracted from this remonstrance by Carte. They represented "that he aimed at the absolute command of all Ireland; that he had his partisans in all the provinces; that he had levied a vast army above the kingdom's force, to execute his ambitious views; that he had obeyed no orders, either of the assembly or council, but what he pleased; that he had slighted their commands, particularly in the affair of Athlone, and in several other instances; that Terence O'Bryen was, under pretence of his authority, actually raising forces in breach of the express orders of the council, and others were doing the like in other places; that since the tumult at Clonmel, messengers had been sent by those who made it, to invite him and his army to their assistance; that his forces acted as enemies, interrupting husbandry, plundering all before them, and leaving nothing behind them but desolation and misery; that Kilkenny and the neighbouring counties had been ruined by the incursions of his forces, who gave out terrible threats of extirpating the English Irish; and their clergy (whose army they boasted themselves to be,) talked after the same manner; that having complained to the nuncio of the friars, who to pave the way for O'Neile and his partisans to be masters of the kingdom, had sowed discontent and sedition in the army, and thrown unjust and groundless suspicions and scandals upon the designs and actions of well-affected persons, no punishment had yet been inflicted, nor any mark of ignominy put upon them to deter others from the like licentiousness."* On this occasion, the gentry of Munster declared that while they adhered firmly to their church, yet that they would prefer joining Ormonde, Clanricarde, or the Grand Turk,† to the risk of being plundered and oppressed by O'Neile and his army. Under this apprehension, they entreated that their province should be put into a state of defence against the intrusion of that army, and that O'Neile should be strictly enjoined not to enter on its confines, and

* Carte, vol. II. p. 3.

† Ibid.

declared a rebel if he should disobey the injunction. They were with some difficulty appeased by the council.

In the province of Leinster, the same terror of O'Neile existed. His character which had developed itself under the influence of growing ambition, and in the use of evil means for evil ends, was beginning to be felt; his virtues were lost to public apprehension, in the cloud of atrocity which surrounded his motions; his objects were misunderstood and his infirmities aggravated. He held Leinster with 12,000 foot and 1200 cavalry, a numerous band of robbers and murderers of every class, and there was a strong apprehension, that he would be joined by the septs in Wexford and Wicklow. Against this fear, the great security to which all eyes in the province of Leinster had turned was the wisdom, influence, and active efficiency of Ormonde, and his departure occasioned the most general and anxious alarm in every quarter.

While thus formidably encountered by the suspicions and complaints of his nominal confederates, Owen, whom they had a little before nominated to the command of Connaught, followed at leisure and in entire indifference his own objects. He had the satisfaction in August to learn of a decisive defeat sustained by his enemy and rival Preston, from the parliamentary commander, colonel Jones, and laughed in his exultation, at the folly of Preston in exposing himself to such a risk. To add to his satisfaction, he was further strengthened by 2000 men from his rival's army, sent him by the direction of the council with their order, (or we should presume entreaty,) that he would march from Connaught to their protection.

The council, though then chiefly filled with adherents of Rinuncini, was strongly influenced by the force of circumstances to act in opposition to his desires; by which the ties between him and O'Neile were for a moment restored, though Owen was an object of fear and dislike to most of the confederates. The incident here chiefly adverted to, is mentioned by Carte: a book entitled, "*Disputatio Apologetica, de jure regni Hiberniæ pro Catholicis Hibernis Adversus Hæreticos Anglos,*" had been published in Portugal, by Cornelius Mahony, an Irish Jesuit, and widely circulated through Ireland. Its design and the effect it was adapted to produce, may be estimated from an extract in which the subject of the argument is stated, "That the kings of England never had any right to Ireland; that supposing they once had, they had forfeited it by turning heretics, and not observing the condition of pope Adrian's grant; that the old Irish natives might by force of arms recover the lands and goods taken from their ancestors upon the conquest by usurpers of English or other foreign extraction; that they should kill not only all the protestants, but all the Roman catholics in Ireland that stood for the crown of England, choose an Irish native for their king, and throw off at once the yoke both of heretics and foreigners."* This book was supported by the nuncio, and very generally understood to turn the eyes of the lower classes upon Owen O'Neile, as the most likely object of election to the crown. But it was so directly opposed to the principles recognised in the oath of the confederates, as well as to the feelings and interests of all but the merest

* From Carte, II. p. 17.

rabble, (yet not much above the lowest point of barbarism,) that the conduct of the confederates could not be less than decisive, and they condemned the book to be burned by the hangman in Kilkenny. This, with many such incidents, gave a strong turn to the sense of this party, and with the impression already made by the general conduct of O'Neile, together with the declarations of his friends and favourers, had much effect in rendering them the more accessible to proposals of peace.

Against this favourable disposition, the nuncio exerted all his influence and authority, and he was certainly not wanting to himself in the employment of such means as remained in his possession. His pecuniary resources had been entirely drained, but his native audacity and craft were not exhausted, and he endeavoured to obtain a preponderance in council by the creation of ten new bishops; the council objected that they had not been consecrated, and the nuncio proposed to consecrate them, but fearful that this might not be approved of in Rome, he contented himself with sending them to take their seats as spiritual peers, and thus obtained a formidable accession to his party.

The discussion of the peace was continued, and while the nuncio and the friends of O'Neile were violent in their opposition, the strong majority was in its favour. An amusing effort was made to turn the odds upon this question, by claiming for nine Ulster delegates the partisans of O'Neile, sixty-three votes, on the ground that this was the number necessary to represent Ulster, while on account of the war, nine only could be found to attend;—a curious oversight and not unlike that amusing species of Irish humour which has by a common error been stigmatized by the name of blunder. The scheme was unsuccessful, and the only obstacle recognised by the assembly was to be found in the entire want of any authorized party to treat with. The council agreed that peace alone could save the country from ruin, and it was at last decided to send agents to France, Spain, and Rome. Into the particulars of this mission, it is not necessary to enter: all the parties had their private objects, and were prepared with their ostensible commissions; their journey was to little purpose. But the nuncio still continued the most strenuous and unremitting efforts to suppress or neutralize every proceeding which had for its object any treaty of peace unless on the terms proposed by himself, and in his eagerness to attain the object of his ultimate ambition, the cardinal's hat, he continually pressed beyond the line of discretion strictly marked out in his instructions, so that his chance of success was by no means improving in either respect. Without gaining the approbation of the pope, he was daily losing the respect of his own party; the court of Rome desirous to avoid embroiling itself with the other courts of Europe, disapproved of the indiscreet exposition of its policy thus afforded on so public a stage, and would have recalled their nuncio long before, but for the violent misrepresentations which led them to overrate the prospects of ultimate success. The Irish nobles, gentry, priests and prelates, were, with the exceptions always to be found in large constituent bodies, all sensible of the folly, ignorance and danger of his counsels, and of the entire futility of his hopes. The council was beginning to meet his remonstrances with indifference, and when he failed in his efforts to induce that body to declare against the ces-

sation which he was so anxious to break, as the last hope of preventing the conclusion of peace, he stole out of the town to join O'Neile at Maryborough.

The council sent messengers to invite him back, and with an offer which it is difficult to regard as sincere, they proposed to break off the treaty and invest Dublin, if he would send them £20,000; while they must have been aware that he was bankrupt in resources long since, and had already gone to the extent of his credit by large and frequent loans. But it is also evident that his conjunction with Owen O'Neile was the most mischievous proceeding that at the moment could well be conceived, and must have excited their utmost apprehension. The nuncio, with the pertinacity of his character replied, "that the generals of the Leinster and Munster armies should be displaced; that the Ulster army should be regularly paid, and assigned good quarters; that the clergy and their adherents in Munster should have satisfaction given them as to the civil government; that all governors and military officers should take an oath, neither to move, do, or agree to any thing that might be deemed to their prejudice, without leave from the clergy; and that the council should swear they would not suffer any peace to be made, but such an one as agreed with the instructions given to the agents sent to Rome." On receiving this message, the council saw the inutility of temporizing further, and signed a confirmation of the cessation to be observed until the conclusion of the treaty of peace.

The nuncio had recourse to his usual methods, and when his declaration against their proceedings were taken down, and the prelates themselves resisted his menaces and entreaties, he brought together the titulars of Ross, Cork, and Down, who still adhered to him, and launched an excommunication against all persons, and an interdict against the towns which should receive the cessation. The council appealed from his censures, and were joined by two archbishops, twelve bishops, and all the secular clergy in their dioceses. They were even supported by the whole orders of Jesuits and Carmelites, and considerable numbers of other orders in the province. On the former occasion already related, he had been as zealously joined by the clergy of his persuasion, as he was now firmly and unanimously resisted; these persons, zealous for the interests of their order. but clear-sighted and humane, had begun to see the folly of their blind and hot-headed leader, the hopelessness of the cause, and the mischief of its further present prosecution. These defections might have made a wiser and cooler headed man sensible that he had gone too far; but the nuncio was little accessible to the warning of circumstances, and insensible to all considerations but those of ambition, pride, and resentment which engrossed his heart. The difficulties of his position were daily increasing—his coffer was empty, the Spanish agent was suing him for 100,000 crowns taken by his ship from a Spanish vessel in the Bay of Biscay, under the pretext of its being English property, instead of which it was sent by the Spanish court for the payment of the army in Flanders. The leaders also of troops in the interest of the confederates had provided against excommunication, by the precaution of collecting those who were indifferent about it.

Under these circumstances, O'Neile retired into Connaught, and

thence to Ulster, to collect his men, and recruit their numbers. He had been abandoned by Sir Phelim, by lords Iveagh, and Alexander Macdonell, and now turned out of his way to attack them in Birr which they garrisoned. But general Preston marched against him, on which he raised the siege and retired. The nuncio meanwhile, endeavoured to effect in Connaught those purposes which had so entirely failed in the provinces of Munster and Leinster. Here too he was doomed to be signally disappointed; for, though joined everywhere by the populace, who were (as they ever are) actuated by the love of change and of tumult, the clergy manifested no disposition to enter into his views. He summoned them to a meeting in Galway, but a prohibition from the council was enough to prevent a compliance; he was openly opposed by the titular bishop of Tuam, and the marquess of Clanricarde, after remonstrating with him on the vanity and wickedness of the headlong course he pursued, regularly besieged him in Galway, where he had as usual made a strong but low party among those on whom his misrepresentations could impose; but thus besieged, the Galway citizens soon came to a just understanding of this vain man, and consented to renounce him and proclaim the cessation. The nuncio thus foiled by Clanricarde, met also with a fresh proof of the contempt into which he was fallen among the confederacy; his Galway declaration, to which he had in vain solicited the consent of the clergy, was condemned as "wicked, malicious, and traitorous, repugnant to all laws, human and divine, and tending to the utter subversion of government both in church and state." At the same time, they publicly proclaimed Owen O'Neile a traitor, and set a price on his head.

Notwithstanding these unfavourable changes, Owen O'Neile was still as strong as ever, nor could the nuncio be altogether deprived of hope, while supported by so powerful an adherent. Making a truce with Jones and the Scots, for the purpose of saving the families of his soldiers in the north and west, he was thus enabled to march into Leinster; there he hoped to regain the ascendancy which had been wrested from his grasp, and to subdue or crush the council of Kilkenny. It was his design to surprise Kilkenny, and a conspiracy was formed in that city, to betray it on his appearance, but the letters between the parties were intercepted. Thus disappointed, Owen satisfied his resentment by wasting the lands of lord Mountgarret, and being invited into Thomond, he took the castle of Nenagh, and surprised Banagher. From this he besieged Athy, but the appearance of Preston forced him to retire. The places he had taken were recovered by the earl of Inchiquin, and having encamped at a pass in Ballaghnon, ("since called Owen Roe's pass"),* to cut off the provisions from Inchiquin's camp; the two armies lay for a fortnight in sight of each other, and Owen narrowly escaped a defeat, on which he stole away in the night and left an empty camp to his enemies.

We have in this memoir hitherto endeavoured to follow the course of the events mainly affecting the fortunes of Owen O'Neile, and of the nuncio Rinuncini, with whom he was throughout connected, considering that thus we should take the most appropriate occasion to

* Carte.

offer a more distinct account of a person so conspicuous for the part he acted in this eventful juncture. The union between these two remarkable persons, was now approaching its close. The marquess of Ormonde at last returned once more to Ireland, to urge forward the treaty for peace, and it was concluded on January 17th, 1649. The death of the king was followed by the proclamation of his son, through all the towns in Ireland; and Rinuncini, who had exhausted all his resources and all his arts, and still lingered hoping against hope, and though defeated still returning to the vain trial—at last began in these decisive events to perceive the inutility of a further struggle against the strong current, and resolved to depart until he should be enabled to enter the field with fresh resources and increased authority. Leaving his last instructions to Owen O’Neile to be firm and faithful, and to hold out for the pope till his return, he embarked in his own ship in Galway, and on the 2d March landed in Normandy.

The history of O’Neile may now be briefly pursued to its termination. Only desirous to preserve the armed posture on which all his prospects were dependent, and ready to join with all parties whose views tended to war, and might sustain his military importance, he formed an alliance with Jones the general of the independents; and by this step, contrived to preserve his affairs for some time, and to maintain a large body of men at the expense of the parliamentary general. In this position he was courted by both parties, and in turn listened and consented to each. Owen continued for some time to co-operate with the parliamentary generals; but after having performed considerable services in the north, he soon discovered that he was held in contempt by his new allies, who purchased his assistance from necessity alone. In consideration of 2000 cows, he raised the siege of Londonderry, where Coote, who held that city for the parliament, was besieged.* The alliance between these leaders and their Irish mercenary was explicitly censured by the parliament, which refused to confirm the articles of their treaty with him. He was compelled to retire, and soon after received proposals from the marquess of Ormonde, to declare for the king; he consented, and soon after came to an agreement to act with that nobleman against his late ungrateful patrons.

So early as February 20th, 1649, letters of credence had been signed by him, by the bishop of Clogher, and by general Farrel, empowering F. Nugent, a capuchin, to assure the king of his submission upon the condition of their being included in the act of oblivion, of enjoying liberty of conscience, and of O’Neile’s commanding an army under his majesty’s authority, provided for in the same manner as the rest of his majesty’s forces, and being advanced to the dignity of an earl.† So far he was at length seemingly in view of the main object of all his labours. In the mean time, his engagement with the parliamentary leaders had taken place; and it was not till the affront here mentioned, exposed the vanity of all expectations from the independents, that he returned to a party which his natural sagacity must have perceived to be the weaker. On the 12th October, he signed

* Borlase.

† Carte.

articles with Ormonde, by which he engaged to bring an army to his assistance

His death saved him from a sad and rapid reverse, and in all probability from a disgraceful end. From the parliamentary leaders who were so soon to change the current of events, he could not even expect the poor compromise of being allowed to live. His character seems to have been vastly overrated by his countrymen : nor have we been enabled to find ground for unqualified praise even on this least questionable pretension, that of military talent. He was assuredly discreet and sagacious; and if he was not free from the excitement of the vindictive passions, they did not at least carry him so far as in any instance to lose sight of interest or safety. Of any of the higher principles of action, which govern and dignify the deeds of great men, he was utterly devoid; a consistent and steady adoption of every friendship and every party which manifested the power and will to promote his own personal ends, was the virtue of his life—a virtue, only to be so named in a very enlarged acceptation of the term, as it implies nothing either honourable or good. Of the sincerity of his religious professions we cannot form any estimate, and must presume them sincere, though his religion had no power to elevate his conduct, he was not less disinterested or less beneficent in the ends for which he acted, or the means by which he sought them, than his spiritual patron and confederate, the Abbe Rinuncini. If upon his first appearance upon the scene of Irish affairs, his character appears to some advantage, this advantage is due to contrast with those who were less unprincipled, but more rude, barbarous, and violent than himself. The habits of a gentleman, and the manners contracted in foreign camps and courts, are, unhappily, not inconsistent with selfishness, cruelty, and vice; but they materially smooth the outward front and gestures of those deep and indelible faults of human character. The knowledge of good and evil, the fear of opinion, and the necessity of being first injured to any decided course of evil, all tend to repress superfluous outrage and retard the career of crime. Knowledge, fortunately indeed, though its power is little to “mend the heart,” has yet a strong power to repress those evil impulses of which it can unfold the consequences and point out the disgrace; yet such considerations apply only with much qualification to the actors of the time actually under review; and when by chance our pen betrays us into such distinctions, we soon must recollect that we are wandering from our purpose.

O’Neile did not live to fulfil his part of the articles last mentioned. In the beginning of December. he died at Cloghater castle, in the county of Cavan.

Patrick, Ninth Lord Dunsany.

BORN A. D. 1588—DIED A. D. 1668.

WE have already mentioned the conduct of the Roman catholic noblemen of the pale, and the rash and unfair treatment by which they

were forced into rebellion. Among these, none other held a more respectable place than the noble lord whose name precedes this article. We however notice him here, not for any high prominence, either in his individual character, or for his achievements in peace or war, but as he merits commemoration for his humane and manly conduct during a time, and under circumstances of unparalleled emergency and distress. We also take the occasion which a brief and summary notice will afford, to insert a paper of his writing which may assist in elucidating and authenticating to the reader's satisfaction, some observations we have made, and more we shall hereafter have occasion to make on the conduct of the government in that period which must occupy our attention through this volume.

The reader is already acquainted with the history of this ancient family. The ninth lord Dunsany was born in 1588. He had not completed his ninth year, when, according to Lodge, his father died. We do not, of course, profess to comprehend the rule by which Mr Lodge has made the computation. But as he places the father's death in 1603, we should observe, that by the common method of reckoning, the young lord must have attained his fifteenth year. His mother was murdered on the 9th March, 1609. A female servant was executed for the murder; but some time after, a man who was condemned for some other felony, confessed himself to have been her murderer.

This lord Dunsany was present at the parliament in 1613. He was rated at one hundred pounds to the subsidy granted to the king in 1615. In 1617, he surrendered his estates, and obtained a new title by grant from the king, and a few years after obtained considerable additions to his estate in the King's and Queen's counties, and in Westmeath, in consideration of lands surrendered to lord Lambert in the north. His lordship bore an active part in the parliamentary proceedings of 1634.

We now approach the period in which he comes under historic notice. On the breaking out of the rebellion of 1641, he promptly presented himself before the lords-justices, and offered his assistance for the suppression of the rebellion. The offer was not accepted. The lords-justices commanded him to go home, as they at that time did every other lord who was under the same circumstances, a Roman catholic, or not of their own immediate party. Lord Dunsany returned home for the protection of his family, and manned his castle—which soon became the refuge of the hunted and persecuted protestants—and even for the miserable and insufficient soldiery which was kept up in the county of Meath. Having made Dunsany castle a place of strength and security, he repaired with his family to his house at Castlecor, which he also strengthened in like manner for a general sanctuary for the persecuted and defenceless. While resident at this place, many occurrences put his courage, firmness, and humanity to the proof, and as they have been registered among the depositions of witnesses on their oath in courts of justice, may be regarded as permanent testimonials of his worth. During the siege of Drogheda, the Irish besiegers were highly discontented with the protection given by his lordship to the persons and property of the English; so much so that the people began to say that he kept a hornet's nest of Eng-

lish about him. On one occasion, a gentleman of the name of Crant, whose life appears to have been pursued with some inveteracy by his enemies, had taken refuge under the shelter of Castlecor. The noble lord was hardly pressed to give him up on various pretences, but refused to trust the assurances of those who sought him. He assured the most forward of these, that he would rather lose his own blood than betray any gentleman who fled to him for refuge. And shortly after, when it was necessary to remove the persecuted Crant, from Castlecor, his noble protector would not trust him to a guard, but himself escorted him to Dunsany castle.

Notwithstanding this manly and beneficent conduct, lord Dunsany presently became himself the object of a most cruel, oppressive, arbitrary, and unmerited severity. On the 20th February the king's proclamation was landed, ordering the submission of the Irish lords and gentry, and saving the privileges and immunities of those who should within a given time come in. With this proclamation in his pocket, lord Dunsany, who had in no way transgressed, and whose family had been uniformly among the foremost in adherence to the crown, amid the troubles of every period, came to Dublin and offered himself before the lords-justices; he asserted his innocence, his reputation for loyalty, and the great hazards he had incurred thereby. The justices sent him to prison, and ordered an indictment against him on a charge of high treason; and, to render the case more secure, they ordered that his trial should proceed in the inferior courts, which then admitted of a greater variety of obscure resources, and were less within the daylight of the public eye. The means of corrupting the administration of justice were also various, and employed without measure or remorse by the official characters in the reigns of James and Charles: of this we have offered one flagrant case, and might have adduced enough to fill a volume, had such been our object. We here insert lord Dunsany's petition to the parliament, as containing a clear and authoritative account of these incidents of his life.

"To the right honourable the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled. The humble petition of Patrick, lord baron of Dunsany.

"Showing,

"That after the prorogation of the session of parliament, held in Dublin in 1641, your suppliant repaired home expecting a commission with others, to parley or treat with the northern Irish, then in rebellion; but no commission issuing, and the rebels with great power and strength ruining and overrunning the whole country, posted to this city and addressed himself to the late lords-justices, informing them of the condition of the country, and craved their advice and aid; was, nevertheless, commanded home again, upon his allegiance, without any aid or help, to defend himself the best he could; upon which your suppliant repaired to Dunsany and manned that house, which became the only sanctuary for the distressed English and his majesty's army in that part of Meath, which he yet had kept from the malice of the enemy; and having so done he parted thence, and took his wife and children with him unto his house at Castlecorre, adjoining to the

O'Renys' country, and there likewise manned and maintained said house against the rebels, until the beginning of March following, and in the time of his abode there, did preserve both the lives and goods of a great number of English protestants, their wives and children, and from thence conducted them unto this city, to the great hazard of his own life, as many of them now in this city will testify, and did openly, in all the time of his residence in that country, protest against the rebellion and the movers thereof, dissuading many that would have gone into action not to go, nor to adhere unto the actors, and being no longer able to live there, about the time aforesaid, parted thence, and sent his wife and family, with such of the English as staid with them, unto Dunsany, by night, himself having taken another way unto this city, to tender himself unto the then lords-justices, which he did the 8th of the said month, voluntarily to satisfy them of the condition he lived in, and to acquit himself of either having heart or hand in that action, or in any sort adhering to the actors, by delivering the threatening letters sent him by the rebels, that they would prosecute him as an enemy, with fire and sword, if he would not assist them by sending men and means to the siege of Drogheda; which, rather than he would do, did hazard his life, in travelling by night out of all roads, there being several ambushes laid for him; and for his loyalty, had his own daughter, and his son's wife (being both great with child) stripped and sent home naked; and his said house at Castlecorre, after his parting, with all his goods and furniture, to the value of four thousand pounds, burned and destroyed. And although your suppliant did so voluntarily tender himself, upon the assurance of his own innocency with a desire to serve his majesty, was notwithstanding committed to prison, and after indicted as a rebel, when as the king, out of his wonted clemency, had published, in January before, under his royal hand and privy signet, a proclamation of grace to all that would lay down arms, and submit unto his mercy; of which your suppliant at the worst was most capable (of any,) in regard he was the first that tendered himself to his highness' service, and never took up arms against him, nor offended any, but relieved all that came in his way; and, after enduring eighteen months' imprisonment, his whole estate (except Dunsany) being destroyed by the rebels, was, by order of his majesty, among others, released, but was, though without order from his highness, bound over unto the king's bench, it being no proper court for his trial, and as yet standeth bound to appear there in Michaelmas term next, and so will be perpetually bound over in that kind, unless this honourable house takes some order for his relief. And for as much as your suppliant, being a member of this house, to have suffered in this kind, without your orders or privy, he conceiveth the same to be a great breach of the privileges of the house.

"And therefore humbly imploreth your honourable aid, and favour herein, by presenting his sufferings unto the lord-lieutenant general of this kingdom, and in the mean time, to admit him his place and vote in the house.

"And he will pray," &c.

The parliament was prorogued on the same day that this petition

was presented. And he obtained no redress till the restoration. A provision was then inserted in the act of explanation, by which the commissioners for the execution of that act, were directed to restore to his lordship his seat, and one third of the whole estate of which he had been possessed on the 22d October, 1641.

This lord died in his 80th year, in 1668.

Letitia, Baroness Ophaly.

DIED A. D. 1658.

WE have already in our notice of Sir Charles Coote, had occasion to mention a remarkable instance of firmness and courage in the conduct of this illustrious Irishwoman. We did not then wish to digress to a sufficient extent, to insert the whole correspondence which occurred between her ladyship and her besiegers. It is no less illustrative of the time in which she lived than of her personal character, and may be advantageously read by any one who desires thoroughly to view the events and the social state of Ireland, in a period in some respects unlike that in which we live.

This baroness was granddaughter to Gerald, eleventh earl of Kildare, and only daughter of Gerard his eldest son, who died before his father. She was created baroness Ophaly, and was heir general to the house of Kildare, and inherited the barony of Geashill. She married Sir Robert Digby of Coleshill, in the county of Warwick. Sir Robert died in 1618, leaving the baroness a widow with seven children.

With this family her ladyship lived in the castle of Geashill, in honour and respect with her neighbours and dependants, and like many noble and virtuous ladies who only require the occasion of circumstance to render them illustrious by the display of those high and generous virtues with which the Creator has so liberally endowed the gentler and purer sex, performing in contented privacy the duties of mother to her children, and of a kind and considerate mistress of her household and tenantry, until 1641, when the country fell into that disordered state, in which goodness and gentleness could be no protection. But the daughter and heiress of the Geraldines was also the inheritor of the fearless spirit of her race, and when the rudeness of that most degrading period suggested the hope of finding an easy prey in the feebleness of an unprotected lady, her brutal assailants met with a resistance worthy of commemoration in the record of history.

Geashill had in earlier times belonged to the O'Dempseys; and we find the name of four Dempseys among those who subscribed to the summons which the baroness first received from the rebels. On this occasion, Henry Dempsey, brother to the lord Clanmalier, with others of the same family, opened their proceedings with the following paper, of which the intent demands no explanation.

"We, his majesty's loyal subjects, at the present employed in his highness's service, for the sacking of your castle, you are therefore to

deliver unto us the free possession of your said castle, promising faithfully that your ladyship, together with the rest within your said castle *resiant*, shall have a reasonable composition; otherwise, upon the non-yielding of the castle, we do assure you that we will burn the whole town, kill all the Protestants, and spare neither man, woman, nor child, upon taking the castle by compulsion. Consider, madam, of this our offer, impute not the blame of your own folly unto us. Think not that here we brag. Your ladyship, upon submission, shall have safe convoy to secure you from the hands of your enemies, and to lead you whither you please. A speedy reply is desired with all expedition, and then we surcease.

"Henry Dempsie; Charles Dempsie; Andrew Fitz-Patrick; Conn Dempsie; Phelim Dempsie; James MacDonnell; John Vickars."

To this summons, she returned this answer:—"I received your letter, wherein you threaten to sack this my castle by his majesty's authority. I have ever been a loyal subject, and a good neighbour among you, and therefore cannot but wonder at such an assault. I thank you for your offer of a convoy, wherein I hold little safety; and therefore my resolution is, that being free from offending his majesty, or doing wrong to any of you, I will live and die innocently, I will do the best to defend my own, leaving the issue to God; and though I have been, I still am desirous to avoid the shedding of Christian blood, yet being provoked, your threats shall no whit dismay me."

"After two months," (writes Archdall) "the lord viscount Clamaller brought a great piece of ordnance (to the making of which, as it was credibly reported, there went seven score pots and pans, which was cast three times by an Irishman from Athboy, before they brought it to that perfection, in which it was at Geashill), and sent another summons to her ladyship in these words:—

"Noble Madam, It was never my intention to offer you any injury, before you were pleased to begin with me, for it is well known, if I were so disposed, you had not been by this time at Geashill; so as I find you are not sensible of the courtesies I have always expressed unto you, since the beginning of this commotion; however, I did not thirst for revenge, but out of my loving and wonted respects still towards you, I am pleased and desirous to give you fair quarter, if you please to accept thereof, both for yourself, children, and grandchildren, and likewise for your goods; and I will undertake to send a safe convoy with you and them either to Dublin, or to any other of the next adjoining garrisons, either of which to be at your own election; and if you be not pleased to accept of this offer, I hope you will not impute the blame unto me, if you be not fairly dealt withal, for I expect to have the command of your house before I stir from hence; and if you please to send any of your gentlemen of your house to me, I am desirous to confer thereof at large. And so expecting your speedy answer, I rest your loving cousin,

"LEWIS GLANMALEROE.

"P. S. Madam, there are other gentlemen now in this town, whose names are hereunto subscribed, who do join and unite themselves in mine offer unto you,

"Lewis Glanmaleroe, Art O'Molloy, Henry Dempsey, Edward Connor, Charles Connor, Daniel Doyne, John MacWilliam."

To this letter, lady Ophaly sent the following answer:—

"My Lord,—I little expected such a salute from a kinsman, whom I have ever respected, you being not ignorant of the great damages I have received from your followers of Glenmaleroe, so as you can't but know in your own conscience, that I am innocent of doing you any injury, unless you count it an injury for my people to bring back a small quantity of mine own goods where they found them, and with them, some others of such men as have done me all the injury they can devise, as may appear by their own letter. I was offered a convoy by those that formerly besieged me, I hope you have more honour than to follow their example, by seeking her ruin that never wronged you. However, I am still of the same mind, and can think no place safer than my own house, wherein if I perish by your means, the guilt will light on you, and I doubt not but I shall receive a crown of martyrdom dying innocently. God, I trust, will take a poor widow into his protection from all those which without cause are risen up against me,

"Your poor kinswoman,

"LETTICE OPHALEY.

"P. S. If the conference you desire do but concern the contents of this letter, I think this answer will give you full satisfaction, and I hope you will withdraw your hand, and show your power in more noble actions."

After his lordship had received this answer, he discharged his piece of ordnance against the castle, which at the first shot broke and flew in pieces; but his men continued with their muskets and other arms to fire until the evening, when they took away the broken piece of ordnance, and marched off in the night; but before their departure, his lordship sent the following letter thus directed:—

"To my noble cousin, the Lady Lettice, Baroness of Ophaley.

"MADAM,

"I received your letter, and am still tender of your good and welfare, though you give no credit thereunto; and whereas, you do understand by relation, that my piece of ordnance did not prosper, I believe you will be sensible of the hazard and loss you are like to sustain thereby, unless you will be better advised to accept the kind offer which I mentioned in my letter unto you in the morning; if not, expect no further favour at my hands, and so I rest your ladyship's loving cousin,

"LEWIS GLANMALEROE."

To which my lady returned answer by one of her own men who was kept prisoner.

"MY LORD,

"Your second summons I have received, and should be glad to find you tender of my good; for your piece of ordnance I never disputed

how it prospered, presuming you would rather make use of it for your own defence or against enemies, than to try your strength against a poor widow of your own blood; but since you have bent it against me, let the blood which shall be shed, be required at their hands that seek it; for my part, my conscience tells me that I am innocent, and wishing you so too, I rest your cousin.

"LETTICE OPHALEY."

She was further menaced by Charles Dempsie, who wrote the following letter, with a design of sending it to her that afternoon, but being beaten out of the town, he was prevented, and it was found in one of the houses.

"MADAM,

"I do admire that a lady of your worth and honour as you conceive yourself to be, should in so regardless a sort, instead of matters of conscience in your letters, use frivolous and scandalous words, expressly nominating us your enemies *Glanmaleroe Kearnes*, and that, in that letter written this very day unto Sir Luke Fitzgerald desiring his assistance to the number of fifty men, which should quash and cashier us here hence, he being your enemy no less than we, secluding kindred, not prophaneness of religion. Nay, your ladyship was not formerly abashed to write to William Parsons, naming us in that letter unto them, a mixt multitude. Remember yourself, madam, consisting of more women and boys than men. All these letters before your ladyship shortly shall be produced. Both the messengers we have intercepted, together with your letters, and do detain them as yet prisoners, until such time as thereof we do certify your ladyship, which at the present we thought to do expedient. They are, therefore, censured to death, and this day is prefixed for their execution, your ladyship by your letters desires novelties. Hear then, Chidley Coote (correspondently to the intent of your letters to Parsons, coming to your aid), being intercepted in the way, was deadly wounded, ten taken prisoners, his ensigns taken away. One *Alman Hamnett's* man, if he come safe with his message, (as I hope he will not), will confirm this news. Had the character of these letters of yours been either Lloyd's or Hamnett's, that politick engineer and the adviser of quilllets, (by him that bought me), no other satisfaction should be taken but their heads; though, as the case stands, *Hamnett* lives in no small danger for manifold reasons.

"CHARLES DEMPSIE."

But notwithstanding all these menaces and attacks, she held out with great spirit, until fetched off safe by Sir Richard Grenville, in October, 1642, after which she retired to Coleshill.

Randal Macdonell, Earl of Antrim.

BORN A. D. 1609—DIED A. D. 1682

OF the ancestry of the Macdonells we have already had occasion to take notice. The person we are now to commemorate, is one of the many whom fortune rather than any inherent merit has made eminent, more by the conspicuous display of the ordinary passions and weaknesses incidental to our nature, than by wisdom, courage or virtue.

He was educated in England, where he early recommended himself at court by the specious attractions of person, manner, and imposing pretensions. These advantages were greatly improved by his marriage with the widow of the celebrated George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, by means of which he was enabled to appear with great splendour at the English court, and was introduced to the favour of the queen.

When the troubles in Scotland broke into war in 1639, this lord was forward to offer his services, which were accepted by the king, who was about to march into Scotland, against the covenanters with the Duke of Argyle at their head. The earl was in the habit of speaking in lofty terms of the power and influence which he possessed in Ireland, and proposed to levy a considerable force of Ulster men, and make a descent on the Scottish Isles; over which he presumed that his own pretensions from the "lords of the Isles," gave him no small influence. He thus sought to effect a diversion, so as to occupy the attention of the Duke of Argyle on one quarter, while the king's army should make its approach on the other. He was sent into Ireland to make his arrangements; but whatever service might have been thus effected by a more discreet and capable person, Antrim was utterly devoid of all the essential qualifications. His very forwardness to embark in a great design appears to have been but the effect of the want of all conception of the real difficulties to be encountered, and like many sanguine and impetuous persons he was rather actuated by a blind self-confidence than by any distinct conception of his design. His imposing language which deceived the king, and it is probable himself, had little weight with the penetrating and masterly intellect of Strafford, then the lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Besides other objections, which we here omit, to his plan, Strafford on conversing with the earl at once discerned his entire ignorance of military affairs, and his incapacity for any service that needed precast, prudence, discretion and experience in the conduct of affairs. The earl had, he found, entered upon an extensive and hazardous undertaking without any consideration of the means by which it was to be effected, and strongly remonstrated against both the project and the man. But Antrim's friends at court were all powerful at the time; the weighty influence of the queen was exerted for him, and the earl of Strafford was strongly pressed by the king to forward the undertaking. On this, every thing was put in train, and every assistance was given to the earl of Antrim; the organization of his army was projected and officers appointed, and emissaries were sent off to the Isles to concert a rising with the Macdonalds. After all this pomp of pre-

paration, it was but too apparent that the earl had overrated his power in the north; he was only enabled to attend the king's expedition with a force small in point of number, but fortunate in not being put to the proof. The English and Scottish armies having come in sight of each other, the king was prevented by his generals, who had no great wish to fight for him, from offering battle; and the reputation of Antrim was allowed to continue untarnished for other trials.

After the treaty of peace (signed on this occasion), the earl accompanied the king to Oxford, and returning to Ireland sat in the parliament 1640. After this he continued to live in Ireland, sustaining the character for which he was by nature best fitted, by magnificent and popular hospitality, until the growing troubles rose to a height incompatible with the peaceful pomps and vanities of life. His countess was compelled to take refuge in England, and again filled a distinguished place in the favour of queen Henrietta and her court. The character of the marquess was assailed by the scandalous aspersion of having joined with the rebels, but this malicious charge was repelled by the strong testimony of Parsons, who was the witness of the harmlessness of his deportment in Dublin. In the commencement of the rebellion, his lordship is honourably to be distinguished for the humane and active assistance he gave to the distressed protestants, whose condition was then more deplorable than it afterwards came to be, in the further stage of the war. Nor can we trace his lordship in any overt proceeding of a political tendency, till the spring of 1642, when having visited his property in the north, he was probably worked upon by the enthusiasm of his own dependents to form high expectations from the favour of the northerners. With the facile and prurient inflammability of a warm fancy and over-weening self-confidence, he at once began to reckon on the effects of his own authority and influence, by which he hoped to convert a rebel multitude into a royal army devoted to the interests of king Charles. In this expectation he was doomed to meet with disappointment; the rebels were pleased at the accession of a name so well suited to give speciousness to their favourite pretence of royal authority. But they saw easily through the ostentatious and feeble spirit that tried in vain to assume an ascendant over their minds. He was indeed too good for them, and too incapable either of going the whole length in atrocity which they uniformly sought in their leaders, and without which no one long continued to have any authority among them; neither had he the craft necessary to temporize, or to suppress his own temper and opinions. Disgusted with their cowardly massacres, which fell entirely on the unarmed and defenceless, upon whom they wreaked vengeance for the severe and often too sweeping justice of military judges; he was loud in the expression of his horror, and condemned their entire conduct, in a tone that plainly manifested an entire unconsciousness of all their peculiar objects and passions. He was prompt and liberal in relieving the distressed and hunted protestants, and it was but too plain that however desirable the accession of the rebel army might be to his lordship's private views, he was not exactly the person they wanted. An instance of his meritorious activity in this character, occurred during the time when Coleraine was besieged by the Irish army in 1641, when he prevailed with the Irish officers

so far as to allow the people of the town to graze their cattle for three miles round; and was permitted to send in large supplies of corn to the starving inhabitants.

The marquess failing to turn the rebels to his own purposes was not induced to embrace their motives or adopt their cause. So far from this, he raised a regiment of his own tenantry; but these plain proofs of loyalty, were not in these uncertain times sufficient to protect him from becoming the object of suspicion. Monroe having entered the county of Antrim, considered the reports which had circulated of his commerce with the rebels and the fact of his being a papist, sufficient excuse to commit an outrage upon him not unworthy of Sir Phelim O'Neile.

Dunluce castle was the stronghold and residence of the ancient family of M^cQuillan, the ancient chiefs of that district, and it was as leader of a Scottish army that the ancestor of the earl of Antrim had expelled these ancient proprietors, and obtained possession of their rock and domain. Here the earl was residing when he received a visit of seeming compliment from Monroe, the general of the Scottish force in Ulster. Monroe was welcomed with all the frank hospitality, and entertained with all the splendour of his generous but unobservant host. The entertainment was not well over when the signal was given, and the astonished earl seized and hurried off a prisoner, while the castle and domain were plundered by his cold-minded and plotting captor.

He was so fortunate as to escape from Monroe and fled into England, where he waited on the queen at York. It was at the time when the king's friends were labouring to procure a cessation of arms in Ireland; Antrim was, as was natural to him, soon led to put forward his notions of his own efficiency to promote this design, and was presently sent into Ireland with instructions; but he was taken on his landing and imprisoned by Monroe in Carrickfergus, where he lay for some months, his enemy all the time drawing his rents and remaining master of his whole possessions, without the slightest heed of the king's letters to command restoration. Once more the earl succeeded in escaping from his enemy and reached Oxford again, December, 1643.

It happened then, as is known to the reader, that the marquess of Montrose was endeavouring to raise an army to create a diversion in Scotland, so as to draw back the army which had marched into England, and was at the time in treaty with the parliament. Antrim was consulted and engaged "that if the king would grant him a commission, he would raise an army in Ireland, and transport it to Scotland, and would himself be at the head of it; by means whereof, he believed all the clan of the Macdonells in the Highlands, might be persuaded to follow him."* To this a ready consent was given, and the king by privy seal created him marquess of Antrim, 26th January, 1644.

The marquess with his characteristic disregard of circumstances, adopted the means which must be admitted to offer some specious advantages for his purpose. His conduct was in principle the same which had on the previous occasion, already mentioned, involved him in the proceedings of the rebels; but circumstances had widely

* Lodge.

changed, and the confederates of Kilkenny might well be assumed to be sincere in their allegiance against a common enemy. Rebellion had changed sides: a confusion of parties had now arisen which admitted of the utmost latitude of construction, and it must have appeared to the marquess a happy expedient to take the oath of association and become a member of the supreme council of Kilkenny. The device had the common justification of such measures, and it was successful. By the favour of the council he was enabled to raise 1500 effective men, whom he sent to Montrose under the command of colonel Alexander Macdonell; and distinguished themselves very highly in all his battles.

The next appearance of the marquess is in 1647, when he was with two others sent by the council of Kilkenny to the queen and prince Charles, to desire that a lord-lieutenant might be sent to govern the country. The marquess of Ormonde landed soon after and concluded a treaty of peace, but Rinuncini being, as the reader is aware, pertinaciously opposed to peace; he was joined by O'Neile and the marquess of Antrim.

In 1651 he appears engaged in Cromwell's party and in his pay; he is mentioned at this time to have received £500 a-year from him, which was afterwards, in 1655, increased. This liberal allowance appears to have been for no other purpose but for the use of his influence in the north, and for the countenance of a name. His active services were not required, and he took no decided part on the parliamentary side: his own motive was probably no more than to save himself by a passive acquiescence; while, considering the party with whom he had to deal and the weakness of his own character, it is equally to be presumed that he was as useful as was in any way desired to Cromwell. This connexion did not prevent his using his best exertions to serve the royal cause. When the prince came into England he supplied him with arms and ammunition, and after the battle of Worcester assisted in procuring ships for his escape.

On account of these services, he afterwards obtained the restoration to his estates by the act of settlement. He was twice married, but had no children; and when he died in 1682 he was succeeded by his brother.

Wick, Fifth Earl of Clanricarde.

BORN A. D. 1604—DIED A. D. 1657.

THIS nobleman was son of Richard, fourth earl of Clanricarde, who in early life was distinguished by the appellation of Richard of Kingsale, in consequence of the prominent part he took against the rebels in the siege of that town, having killed twenty of them with his own hand. His personal bravery and untainted loyalty were inherited by his son, who had in addition, a strong personal attachment to the unfortunate Charles, whom he attended in his expedition against the Scots in 1640. He had taken his seat in parliament when it met in 1639, and sat by proxy in the year following; being a peer of England in right

of his father, who had been created baron of Somerhill, (a manor of his in Kent,) and viscount Tunbridge, to which title Charles had added those of baron Imany, viscount of Galway, and earl of St Albans.* In the summer of 1641 the subject of our present memoir returned to his seat of Portumna, and on the breaking out of the rebellion took the most active and decisive measures both for its suppression, and also for the counteraction of the evils it occasioned. Being governor of the town and county of Galway he had official power, as well as great personal influence. The English knew him to enjoy the favour and confidence of his sovereign, while the Irish looked up to him as their friend and chieftain, to which rank he was entitled not only by his extensive possessions but by his high moral qualities, which must at all times command an ascendancy, but which were then peculiarly valuable from being rare. He summoned all who held lands of the king, to be ready to take arms in his service at twenty-four hours' warning. He applied to the lords-justices, who were of the puritanic party, for aid, and was of course refused; when he called an assembly of the county at Loughrea (where his own regiment of foot happened at the time to be quartered) and so successfully awakened their fears, suppressed their discontents, and renewed their declining confidence in the royal promises of protection and support, that they agreed to raise eight companies of foot and two troops of horse, which, without deriving assistance from the state or any other quarter, he from his own stores supplied with arms and ammunition. He obtained a declaration from the king that all his promises should be fully performed to those who now, in the moment of trial, proved themselves to be loyal subjects. He strengthened the fort of Galway, personally inspected every post of defence, and by a firm and uncompromising line of conduct subdued the disaffected, who would otherwise have counteracted his designs. The vile policy of the lords-justices, who looked for unlimited support from the puritan party in England, made them not only deprive the loyal nobility of the pale, of the arms with which they had at first intrusted them, but they issued a proclamation by which all persons, except the ordinary inhabitants of Dublin were commanded to leave it on pain of death, within twenty-four hours; thus flinging back all those who had fled there for safety, or as a security from suspicion, and compelling them to seek a refuge and coalition with the rebel party, who were but too glad of such a respectable accession to their numbers. By the instrumentality of the earl of Clanricarde and of lord Ranelagh the president, Connaught had been kept tolerably quiet; but the constrained disaffection of the pale quickly spread, and seemed to give a warrantable excuse for rebellion to the discontented spirits of that province. Insurgents from the neighbouring districts flowed in rapidly, and harassed and endangered the peaceable inhabitants. At length the town of Galway became infected, and, under the plea of ill treatment from the governor, besieged the fort, and reduced the English garrison to extreme distress. The earl, on hearing of their extremity, rapidly collected a small force and hastened to their assistance; but though utterly unable with his handful of men to cope with

* Lodge.

the assailants, he subdued them by that moral energy of character for which he was so remarkable, and compelled them to suspend hostilities and come into terms, until the king's pleasure should be known, promising in the mean time that the town should be taken under his majesty's protection. The best effects seemed likely to follow upon this occurrence, and lord Clanricarde was successfully exerting his pacific influence over the minds of the people, and gradually bringing them back to their allegiance, when the lords-justices already calculating on the forfeitures to be obtained, expressed their extreme disapproval of the protection granted to Galway, and peremptorily commanded the earl to receive no more submissions. They also directed the governors of forts and other commanders, to enter into no terms with the rebels, but to exterminate them, and all who should harbour them, with fire and sword. The insurgents grew desperate, and besieged the lord-president in the city of Athlone, where he was at length relieved by the earl of Ormonde. Clanricarde, though justly irritated at the conduct of the Irish government, remained unshaken in his loyalty, and still continued his zealous and efficient exertions for the re-establishment of tranquillity. Towards the latter end of this year a convention was held at Kilkenny by the chief portion of the Roman catholic nobility, prelates, and clergy, in which they professed their allegiance to the king (while they violated his authority and prerogative,) and their intention of being guided by the laws of England, and the statutes of Ireland, as far as they were not inconsistent with the Roman catholic religion. They enacted many laws and regulations, and when the order of government had been adjusted they selected their provincial generals. Now that the rebellion had taken a more specious and civilized form, and that the lords-justices had made themselves so obnoxious to all the high-minded and loyally-disposed, they hoped to gain over lord Clanricarde to their standard, particularly as the maintenance of the Roman catholic faith was one of their chief and most ostensible objects. They accordingly nominated him to the chief command in Connaught, and appointed colonel John Burke as his lieutenant-general. No inducement, however, or specious representation could alter lord Clanricarde's determination; he rejected all their overtures, scorned their sophistical arguments, and with unshaken loyalty adhered to the broken fortunes of his master, notwithstanding the threats and excommunication of his own clergy, which they resorted to as a last resource. When lord Ranelagh the president of Connaught quitted his government in despair, intending to lay before Charles the ruinous and faithless conduct of his justices, Clanricarde still continued at his post, though abandoned to his difficulties and his best acts maligned. Lord Ranelagh was seized immediately on arriving in Dublin, and put into close confinement, so that even the faint hope the earl might have entertained of receiving succour from the king's supporters was dissipated. As the position of the king's affairs became more desperate in England, he was proportionally anxious to bring the rebellion in Ireland to a termination, and expressed his willingness to receive and consider the complaints of the recusants. He accordingly issued a commission under the great seal of England, to the marquess of Ormonde, the earl of Clanricarde, the earl of Roscommon, viscount

Moore, and others, to meet the principal recusants and transmit their complaints; to the bringing about of this arrangement the lords-justices opposed every obstacle. It was however at length effected, and the recall of Sir William Parsons followed on the exposure of his iniquities. The province of Connaught was nearly reduced to desperation, the rebels were every day increasing in numbers, and were possessed of many of the most important forts. Lord Clanricarde's towns of Loughrea and Portumna, were all that in the western province remained in the possession of the royalists. About this period the marquess of Ormonde concluded a treaty with the insurgents for the cessation of arms for a year, to which lord Clanricarde and several other noblemen were parties. In 1644 he was made commander-in-chief of the military in Connaught, under the marquess of Ormonde, and in the same year he was promoted to the dignity of marquess, with limitation to his issue male. He was also made a member of the privy council, and zealously exerted his increased influence and power for the benefit and tranquillization of the country. An attempt was made during the campaign of Cromwell to recover Ulster from the parliamentary army, by a conjunction of the northern Irish with the British royalists of this province, under the command of the marquess of Clanricarde; this however was defeated by the intrigues of lord Antrim, and the Irish refusing to follow any leader but one of their own selection. During the long and factious struggle of the Roman catholic prelates with lord Ormonde, Clanricarde marched with his forces to oppose the progress of Ireton and Sir Charles Coote towards Athlone, when the sentence of excommunication was published at the head of his troops, so as to discharge them from all obedience to the government. No representations of the moderate party could induce those haughty prelates to revoke the sentence of excommunication, and all that could be obtained from them was a suspension of it during the expedition for the relief of Athlone. When at length their insolent and obstinate resistance drove Ormonde from the kingdom, he appointed Clanricarde as his deputy with directions to act as circumstances and his own judgment should direct. Had Clanricarde consulted his own interest or safety he would never have undertaken so thankless and dangerous a responsibility; but his was too noble a nature to let personal considerations weigh for a moment against a sense of duty, and his zealous and devoted attachment to the king made him anxious to preserve even the semblance of his authority in Ireland; and he also thought that by continuing the war even at disadvantage in that country, he might in some degree divert the republican army from concentrating their forces against the king and the English royalists. Clanricarde accordingly accepted the office, but had to encounter a difficulty in the very outset, in getting the instrument which was to bind both parties, drawn with sufficient simplicity to prevent its covering dangerous and doubtful meanings. The Roman catholics had now a chief governor of their own religion, and Ireton was disappointed in his advance upon Limerick, so that the Irish, still possessing that city, Galway and Sligo could have made a good stand against the republicans. Ireton made propositions through his agents to the assembly to treat with the parliament, and the fatal influence exerted by the nuncio still predominated

and induced the clergy to listen favourably to these proposals. Clanricarde indignantly represented the treachery and baseness of such conduct, and the leading members of the assembly joined in expressing the same sentiments, saying, "it is now evident that these churchmen have not been transported to such excesses by a prejudice to the marquess of Ormonde, or a zeal for their religion, their purpose is to withdraw themselves entirely from the royal authority. It is the king and his government which are the real objects of their aversion, but these we will defend at every hazard; and when a submission to the enemy can be no longer deferred, we shall not think it necessary to make any stipulations in favour of the secret enemies of our cause. Let those men who oppose the royal authority be excluded from the benefits of our treaty."* The clergy little accustomed to such language at length submitted, and the treaty was rejected. They still, however, retained their hatred to Clanricarde, and held secret and seditious conferences. Early in the spring Ireton again prepared to besiege Limerick, and when the earl proposed to shut himself up in the city and defend it to the last, he was rejected by the clergy and citizens with the same insolence with which they had before excluded Ormonde. Ireton at length commenced his siege, and having gained the city by treachery, Galway was next summoned to accept the same terms previously offered to Limerick, and threatened with similar severities if they refused. The citizens were at first terror-struck, and inclined to submit, but on learning the death of Ireton their courage revived, and they sent to lord Clanricarde, entreating his assistance, and promising to be entirely guided by his directions. The marquess at once summoned a meeting of all the neighbouring nobility, gentry, and prelates, at Galway, that they might take into consideration the best measures for its defence. The former panic however quickly returned, for Ludlow succeeding to the command of the English forces, acted with such uncompromising vigour, that they prevailed on Clanricarde unwillingly to accede to a treaty, and at length, without his authority or sanction, surrendered the town.

The success of the republicans daily increased, but still Clanricarde, with desperate fidelity, adhered to the royal cause, and aided by some Ulster forces, took the castles of Ballyshannon and Donegal. At length, on the dispersion of his troops and the total exhaustion of his own resources, he yielded to the stern necessity of his position, and in compliance with the king's instructions, accepted conditions from the republicans. His high character made him respected, even by his enemies; he was allowed to remain unmolested in their quarters, and had permission to transport himself and three thousand Irish into the service of any foreign prince not at war with England.

His Irish estate, of £29,000 a-year, was seized and sequestered, and he retired to Somerhill, in Kent, where he died in 1657. He married early in life the lady Ann Compton, daughter of the earl of Northampton, who survived him, and by her had one daughter, who married Charles, viscount Muskerry.

The marquess was excepted from pardon for life and estate, by an act passed by Cromwell's parliament in 1652.

* Leland.

Roger, Earl of Orrery.

BORN A. D. 1621.

THIS distinguished nobleman was the third son of Richard Boyle, the first earl of Cork, already commemorated in our pages. At the age of fifteen, we are informed, he entered the university of Dublin, from which he was in a few years sent by his father, to travel on the continent—then, when the means of acquiring a knowledge of the world from any means short of actual observation, were far less than in later times, the only resource for the accomplishment of a man of the world.

Under the care of a Mr Markham, he made the tour of France and Italy, and profited so much by the extended means of intercourse and communication thus afforded, that his appearance at the English court was greeted by general admiration and respect: nor was employment slow in following. The earl of Northumberland gave him the command of his own troop in the expedition against Scotland; while, by the interest of the earl of Strafford, whose regard is of itself a high testimony of desert, he was created baron Broghill, 28th February, 1627.

During his long sojourn in England, he married the lady Margaret Howard, sister to the earl of Suffolk; and with her arrived in Ireland on the opening of the troubles of 1641, and proceeded with his lady to his father's castle of Lismore, which they gained without any alarm, as the breaking out of rebellion was not yet known in Munster.

A few days after, he was invited by the earl of Barrymore, his brother-in-law, to dine at Castlelyons, where he met his father, the earl of Cork, lord Muskerry, and other neighbouring gentry. On this occasion it was that a messenger, arriving just before dinner, brought intelligence to the earl of Cork, that the Irish were in rebellion, and had taken possession of the entire country through which he had come. All scattered to their respective homes to prepare for defence, or to meditate the course they were to follow. The immediately succeeding events we have already told in more than one memoir, but more especially in that of the earl of Cork.* In these lord Broghill bore his full share, and conducted himself so as to have acquired increased reputation for courage, sagacity, and military talent.

During the progress of the ensuing protracted struggle, in which, for a time, it became a question of difficulty to decide between the respective claims of the several parties who were contending in arms on the pretext of loyalty, or in the name of government, lord Broghill's straight-forward common sense easily disentangled him from the perplexity of a sanction, which, on the one side, was false and fraudulent; and on the other had lost its vitality. He readily saw that the king's authority could not be supported, that his cause was not maintained; and that, while his friends were compelled to keep up a vain struggle against every impediment, the rebels, who had assumed the pretext of his name, were overwhelming with imputation a cause for which

* Vol. II. pp. 412, 413.

they had little solicitude: the better interests of the country would be meanwhile destroyed by a ruinous and wasteful continuation of a warfare, which was not decided by soldiers on the field, but by the rival plunderings, burnings, and devastations of those vast mobs, which, under the name of armies, acted the part of locusts. This hapless condition of the country was daily becoming more apparent, and its real consequences more clearly visible: the marquess of Ormonde, whose strong zeal, and firm will had throughout endeavoured to stem the rush of coming ruin, at last retired from a post which he had to the last moment of possibility held with strong fidelity; and the most devoted sacrifice of self. The parliament now sent over their commissioners to conduct the war. Of their power to crush rebellion, and restore the country to the repose which was become necessary to its existence, there could be no doubt: although to those who were most fully aware of the spirit in which they acted, it was perhaps known that they were in no hurry to effect such an object, nor likely to take any very effectual step until they should first have obtained the completion of their ends at home.

By lord Broghill, still a very young man, and not versed in the secret of their policy, it was naturally expected that as they had shown some desire to assume the control of the war in Ireland, that they would act with their known resource and vigour to reduce the country to quiet. Accordingly, lord Broghill, as well as many other of the royalist lords, acted for some time under the parliamentary commanders.

On the trial and execution of king Charles, the zealous loyalty of lord Broghill was too violently shocked to admit of compromise with his murderers, on any ground of expediency. He left the service, and abandoning the country, retired to Marston, his seat in Somersetshire, where he remained in quiet, and free from all public concerns, for some time.

At last, like every active-minded man, he grew weary of repose: he had also frequently reflected upon the heavy loss of his Irish estate; and probably, though with less reason, thought the time arrived when some effort in favour of the young king might be attended with success. By whatever motives he was actuated, he came to the decided resolution to see the king himself, and to obtain his commission to raise forces in Ireland in his behalf; and, as his biographer adds, "to recover his own estate." With this intent he raised as large a sum of money as he could command, and applied to the earl of Warwick, whose interest stood high, to obtain for him a passport to Spa, as he wished to go abroad for the benefit of his health.

Full of this intention, he went down to make the preparations necessary for his voyage; but he had not been many days there when he was somewhat startled by a visit from a strange gentleman who came from Cromwell, to say that he wished to visit lord Broghill, and desired to know when it would be most convenient to his lordship to receive him. Lord Broghill, in great surprise, at first expressed his opinion that there must be some mistake, as he was quite unknown to the lord-general, and had not for a long time been engaged in any public concern. Upon being convinced however that there could be no mistake, he returned a message that he would himself attend the general whenever he should desire. The gentleman retired, and lord Broghill was

left alone to consider what course would be most prudent to adopt—whether to await a further communication from a person whose acts were known to be so prompt and decided, or in the interval to proceed while yet free upon his way. He was not however allowed to decide for himself. He was yet wrapped in the perplexity of his situation, when his meditations were once more interrupted by the sudden entry of Cromwell. The lord-general then informed him, that “the committee of state were apprized of his design of going over and applying to Charles Stewart for a commission to raise forces in Ireland: and that they were determined to make an example of him, if he himself had not diverted them from that resolution.”* Lord Broghill was endeavouring to evade the necessity of admitting the accusation, and trying to impose on the general by protestations of a very general nature, when Cromwell drew from his pocket a parcel of papers, which he silently put into his hand: on looking at these lord Broghill was astonished to perceive that they were copies of his own letters to different persons to whom he had confided his purpose. On this, lord Broghill saw that it was useless any longer to persist in the attempt to baffle the general, and confessed the whole, thanking Cromwell for his protection. Cromwell assured him that though, till then, unacquainted with him personally, he was no stranger to the high reputation he had earned in the Irish wars; and that as he was himself now appointed by the parliament to command in Ireland, he had obtained leave from the committee to offer his lordship the command of a general, if he would serve in that war; “and that he should have no oaths or engagements imposed upon him, nor be obliged to draw his sword against any but Irish rebels.”† An instant’s consideration was perhaps enough to show lord Broghill that nothing could be more favourable to his own interest; nor, considering the actual state of affairs, could there be a more useful or honourable direction given to his activity and talent. Yet the sense of party feeling was to be overcome, and lord Broghill asked for time. Cromwell told him that he must decide at the moment, as the committee, which was yet sitting, awaited his return, and on hearing of lord Broghill’s hesitation, would instantly commit him to the Tower. Lord Broghill then gave way, and assured Cromwell that he would faithfully serve him against the Irish rebels. He was then desired to proceed to Bristol, and there await the troops which should follow, with transports sufficient to convey them across the channel. Cromwell assured him further, that he would himself speedily follow.

Lord Broghill followed these directions, and every thing having been quickly provided, according to Cromwell’s promise, he was soon once more in Ireland. Here his reputation was high, and he was quickly enabled to add materially to the few soldiers he had brought over: a troop of cavalry, entirely composed of gentlemen, and fifteen hundred well appointed infantry, enabled him to present a formidable appearance; till on the 15th August, 1649, Cromwell landed in Wexford, with an army of eight thousand foot and four thousand cavalry, two hundred thousand pounds in money, and an abundant store of all

* Budgel’s *Memoirs of the Boyle Family*.

† Budgell.

military materials; and thus commenced the *last* scene of this deep drama of blood.

The landing of Cromwell put an end to all hopes on the part of those who separated from the rebels as from the parliamentarians, had till then hoped, by winning over some of the more moderate, and availing themselves of that general desire for peace which was beginning to pervade the better classes, to be enabled to gain a party in favour of the king. By the appearance of Cromwell's army, such hopes were soon banished from the land with those who held them. The earl of Ormonde, still resolving to hold on to the last extremity, but having no resources left from the wreck of many brave and devoted efforts, now rested his last hope in the endeavour to protract matters for a time in order to give discipline and confidence to his handful of men; he was not also without a hope that the strong parties, not more hostile to his cause than they were to each other, might in some degree balance and check others in the field, when a single blow might place no small advantage in his power. He justly considered that Drogheda would be likely to be the first object of Cromwell's attention, and prudently took measures to have it put in a defensible condition with the utmost haste. He committed it to Sir Arthur Aston, a most experienced and gallant officer, with two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, all chosen men: he also supplied him with such provisions and ammunition as he desired. Having taken these precautions, the marquis retired to Portlester, to be in readiness for the event. It was generally expected that Drogheda would make a long and vigorous defence; and in the mean time lord Inchiquin was sent for to come from Munster to his aid. Before the message had reached its destination, Cromwell was before the walls of Drogheda.

This event occurred on the 3d September, 1649. He lay still before the town for a week—he had perhaps some expectation that the garrison might be terrified into a surrender; they on their part were far enough from fear, for Drogheda had hitherto baffled all attempts made during the last three years previous, and was thought by the Irish generally to be impregnable, unless by treachery or famine. On Sunday, the 9th of September, Cromwell sent in his summons, and on receiving Aston's refusal to surrender, opened his batteries upon the walls: from that moment a hot fire was kept up, till Tuesday at four in the afternoon, when a breach was made in St Mary's wall, which Cromwell judged sufficient for the purpose of an assault. His men were twice repulsed. The account which follows is in some degree hard to believe, but it stands upon authority* too creditable to be rejected. In the third assault, the brave soldiers who defended the town were disheartened by the fall of their leader, colonel Wall, who was killed fighting at their head. Seeing them waver, the soldiers of Cromwell assured them of quarter, and were thus admitted without further opposition. The same delusive proceeding was adopted while a single corner was to be won, and the appearance of the most humane forbearance kept up towards all who laid down their arms. But so soon as the town was secured, Cromwell was (it is affirmed,) told by Jones that

* Carte.

the flower of the Irish army was there, upon which he immediately commanded that no quarter should be given. On this a most dreadful massacre commenced, and continued while a soldier of the garrison remained. The soldiers of Cromwell are said to have shown great and manifest reluctance to execute the barbarous command; but the rigid and immovable temper of the lord-general was not one to be turned by the relentings of the multitude. The horror of this atrocious deed was increased, and its guilt aggravated, by the murder of the gallant Aston, the governor, with his officers. This frightful incident is described by the marquess of Ormonde, in a letter to the king, in which he writes, that "On this occasion Cromwell exceeded himself, and any thing he had ever heard of in breach of faith and bloody inhumanity; the cruelties exercised there for five days after the town was taken, would make as many several pictures of inhumanity as are to be found in the book of Martyrs, or in the relation of Amboyna."* Nothing can justify the deed here related, but some reasonable deductions may be made on the consideration of time and place: at the time, Ireland had been, for an interval of eight years, the scene of every atrocious crime by which human history has ever been disgraced—the ordinary social state had become one of lawless and indiscriminate war, depredation, robbery, and murder, on every scale, and on every pretence; and though to a person, during that period, intimately conversant with the country, and versed in the complex relations of its party oppositions and affinities, it might have been possible to make just distinctions, and ascertain the precise limits of right and wrong; it is well known how in the neighbouring country report confuses and exaggerates: how misrepresentations on either side, meeting with indifferent ears, combine and blacken all with mutual accusations; and while it is easy and not unpleasant to those who are at a safe distance to believe the worst, the pleas of justice or of excuse are mostly too local, personal, or limited, in character, to find their way, or to win the indolent attention of those not personally interested. In England, the acts and sufferings of Ireland were heard as the uproar of a barbarous island drunk with an insatiable mania of murderous frenzy: and the vague horror of such an impression was heightened by the prejudices of political and religious animosity. Cromwell was too sagacious to be altogether deluded by the impression of popular ignorance, but it coloured his thoughts, and gave a direction to his policy, as regarded the affairs of a country to which but little of his mind had ever been given. It was his interest, no less than the task he had undertaken, to quell without delay the pertinacious and clinging element of destruction which must have seemed inextinguishably mixed with the very life-blood of the people. And as he perhaps was impressed with the sense, that languid operations and campaigns without result had been the main cause in protracting the state of war, in which the impunity of resistance had encouraged the aggregation of mob armies, and the reorganization of the defeated—he was not without some reason convinced of the necessity of proceeding by terror. To carry on a protracted war with the hosts of half-armed creaghts, who would scatter and reappear like mists,

* Carte.

while his resources were consuming, and flux and fever wasting away his force, were little consistent either with the probable pacification of Ireland, or his own ambitious projects. And though the course he took was an outrage upon humanity, it was not only effectual, but it may be doubted whether less rough means could have settled a country so thoroughly disorganized. The real effect of this cruel butchery upon the public mind was different from that which it would now produce on a humane age—the congenial spirit of O’Neile was rather impressed with the vigour and skill of the storm than by the atrocity of the succeeding day’s work—he is represented to have sworn, “that if Cromwell had taken Drogheda by storm, if he should storm hell he would take that too!” Carte observes, that “this was certainly an execrable policy of the regicide, but it had the effect he proposed. It spread abroad the terror of his name—it cut off the best body of Irish troops, and disheartened the rest to such a degree that it was a greater loss in itself, and much more fatal in its consequences than the rout at Rathmines.” To the same rough dealing Cromwell was not long after mainly indebted for his unimpeded march to Dublin, when obstacles sufficient to waste many months, and attended with numberless risks, were removed by the voluntary surrender of the towns and garrisons in his way. We must now return to lord Broghill. After Cromwell had proceeded south and obtained quiet possession of Cork, Kinsale, Bandon and Youghall, he sat down before Clonmel. Here Hugh O’Neile had collected 1200 chosen Ulster men, and as lord Fermoy was also known to have sent a large army of several thousand men to relieve this city, Cromwell detached lord Broghill to intercept them. Lord Broghill marched in quest of this enemy, and soon encountering a body of between four and five thousand men, he gave them a complete rout. The battle was hardly over when an express from Cromwell brought the information that he was in a most miserable condition before Clonmel, where his army was sinking under the bloody flux, and had in their exhausted condition met two severe repulses from the brave garrison. He therefore was enjoined to lose not a moment, but to lead his men to assist the lord-general in this pressing strait. Lord Broghill sent back word “that by the blessing of God he had just defeated the enemy, and would not fail to be with him in three days.” He kept his word, and was received with acclamations by the besieging army; Cromwell embraced him and congratulated him upon his victory. With this reinforcement the siege was pressed on with fresh alacrity and the town was soon compelled to surrender. The garrison had been secretly withdrawn by O’Neile on the failure of provisions, and the citizens were allowed to surrender upon honourable terms.

Some time previous to the termination of the siege, which had lasted for two months, Cromwell had been recalled by the parliament, as the want of his presence was felt elsewhere. On the capitulation, he took his departure leaving Ireton as his deputy, and lord Broghill in command of a “flying camp in Munster.” In this command the distinction he soon acquired was so great, and such was the general influence gained with all parties by his good sense, moderation and popular manners, that it soon became suspected that Ireton was either

envious of his reputation or doubtful of his fidelity. As these notions found tongues enough they were quickly conveyed to the ears of lord Broghill; he is indeed said to have received a letter from a Mr Lammas, who was Ireton's chaplain, advising him to take care of himself, for Ireton, notwithstanding his professions of friendship and letters of congratulation on his successes, had privately determined to destroy him. On this Mr Morrice, the authority for this statement, mentions that lord Broghill satisfied by so authoritative a warning, kept away from Ireton as long as he could; he was however under the necessity of joining him at Limerick.

The condition of the other party, if such an appellation is not inconsistent with its complex constituency, is at least characteristic of the people. While the storm that was to crush them was gradually rolling together over their heads, and the necessity of a resistance more systematic and concerted than was hitherto resorted to, was felt by every one, the efforts of Clanricarde and Castlehaven, were encumbered, retarded, and rendered inoperative, by the factious intrigues of those, who seemed more inclined to fight among themselves about questions, and play the old destructive game of civil intrigue—than to resist the common enemy. They were men who wrangled over a paltry game, while their leaky pinnacle was running into the whirlpool of destruction. Sir Charles Coote had taken Athlone and entered Connaught, and while the earl of Clanricarde was vainly endeavouring to collect an army to resist his progress, the archbishop of Armagh convened a synod, to receive father Anthony Geoghegan, who was arrived with instructions from the congregation *de Propaganda*, in Rome: their first decree was an order that no bishop should be admitted to sit in the general assembly, until he should be absolved from the nuncio's censures; they declared the duke of Lorraine protector of the kingdom, and with all the experience of ten years of social disorganization, yet impressed in traces of desolation on every side, they only thought of beginning again with the infatuation of 1642. Their immediate object was to revive the confederacy, and to this purpose their entire means, talents, and industry, were directed. Clanricarde at this time invested with the royal authority and the sole support against the parliamentary general, they considered as the great obstruction to their designs; and thus while they impeded all his efforts, they prepared for themselves and their miserable supporters the retribution that was to follow. The chief means by which this dissension was fatal, was by intriguing with the inferior leaders to induce them to desert their posts and break their appointments; so that when Clanricarde and Castlehaven had concerted the movements immediately necessary, and fixed upon the position essential for the counteraction of their opponent, the orders were not carried into execution, and their best concerted operations were always frustrated by some traitorous disappointment. Such is a summary of the obstacles to the efforts of the royalist party, previous to the siege of Limerick by Ireton: we now come to the particulars more immediately preceding that event.

It was the object of Ireton to pass the Shannon, in order to commence the meditated attack. Having failed in the attempt to build a bridge at Castleconnel, he was on his march to Athlone, the nearest

place where he could then hope to pass. To resist his progress Clanricarde had an army of 7,000 foot, and 1,800 horse, with which he intended to fight the parliamentary army. With this view he sent to Castlehaven, to join him at a pass where he hoped to meet and check its further advance. Castlehaven left the passes of Shannon guarded, and marched to the rendezvous: but after about three hours' march, a brisk report of continued firing came from the quarter he had left, and he was presently surprised to see approaching a troop of cavalry, which he had left as a guard at Brian's Bridge: they came on in the disorder of flight, though they were not pursued. On inquiry he now learned that the parliamentarians had come on the other side of the river, and sending a few boats of musketeers across, the castle of Brian's Bridge was treacherously betrayed to them by the captain who commanded. As lord Castlehaven hurried back to arrest this threatened passage, and recover the castle, news came of the further defection of the colonel to whom he had committed the pass at Killaloe, who with all his men had fled into Limerick. The effect of this intelligence was fatal: Castlehaven's army melted away in a few hours from 4,000 to 40 horsemen, with which he himself was constrained to make his way to the lord-deputy; who finding his weakness, and the entire inefficacy of the worthless army, on which he had relied too far, retreated: and Ireton was master of the Shannon.

There was now, therefore, no obstacle to the siege of Limerick, which he at once commenced: and while he conducted his operations with progressive regularity, there was within the walls no adequate sense of the danger. Clanricarde, with the devoted gallantry of his character, offered to take the command, and share the fortune of the city: he was refused, and Hugh O'Neile appointed governor, but without more than a nominal authority; the citizens, like the ecclesiastics, thought more of protecting their own interests and immunities, than of the common and imminent danger which was collecting round their walls. There was thus little command, and no pervading authority: a laxity of discipline favoured division of councils and the intrigues of private fear and self-interest. A free correspondence with the surrounding country, was permitted, and the enemy were not suffered to be perplexed by any want of full intelligence of the councils and condition of affairs within.

While the parliamentary troops lay round the walls, an account reached them, that lord Muskerry was approaching at the head of 4,000 men, to the relief of the city. To check his approach lord Broghill was detached with 600 foot, and 400 horse, and soon came in sight of his enemy. At first Muskerry contrived by his movements to impress the notion, that he had no design to approach Limerick, and lord Broghill contented himself with a close observation of his demonstrations. At last on the 22d June, towards evening, he received intelligence, that Muskerry had sent a detachment to seize on Castletliskien, a strong place, directly on the way to Limerick. On this he ordered out his men, and about midnight, in the midst of a violent storm of rain and wind, attacked their camp, driving in the out-posts, and raising such consternation that the whole army made its escape on the opposite side, and was at some distance before morning, from

the place where it had encamped. Lord Broghill availed himself of this, by securing the way to Limerick, and then followed his enemy over the Blackwater, which they passed in the interval.

Lord Broghill soon found them drawn up to receive him, and divided his little party into three commands. Lord Muskerry's men took their ground with a degree of resolution and steadiness, then quite unusual among the Irish troops, a fact partly to be accounted for by the absence of their ordinary resources for retreat: as they generally contrived to meet their enemy on the edge of some great wood or morass, or near the defiles of some mountain pass. Lord Muskerry's men had likewise been animated by the paltry appearance of their antagonists, whom they easily surrounded: and evidently considered the victory in their hands. They offered lord Broghill quarter, who refused it for himself and his men; and a desperate fight commenced. Lord Broghill animated his men by his presence and example, and was the most exposed where danger was the hottest; at last there was a cry among the Irish, to "kill the fellow in the gold-laced coat," and a determined rush was made from which his lordship could hardly have escaped, but by the prompt aid of a lieutenant of his own troop, who before he succeeded in disentangling his lordship from the press, received two shots in his body, and had his horse killed under him. The situation of the English was desperate, and they fought with desperation added to their wonted valour. The effect of this was soon felt among lord Muskerry's ranks, and they at last after sustaining a tremendous slaughter wavered, and gave way on every side, before the fury of the parliamentary force. Six hundred fell and numerous prisoners were taken.*

In the mean time, the citizens of Limerick were engaged in discussion on the expediency of a capitulation. On the 23d October a meeting was held in the Town House, by several officers and leading citizens, who agreed in favour of a treaty of surrender, and proposed to send commissioners next day to "*the rebels*." The bishops of Limerick and Emly came to the assembly and menaced them with excommunication, if they proceeded with a design which they characterised as delivering up their prelates to slaughter. The menace was disregarded—the excommunication with an interdict followed publicly, and had no effect. The citizens were eager (and wisely) to save themselves, and it had been throughout a matter of difficulty to repress the clamorous importunity of the people for surrender. Hugh O'Neile wished to hold out, but his power went no further than to set the watch, while the mayor kept the key.†

These dissensions seem to have risen to a dangerous height: colonel Fennel, who sided with the mayor, took possession of Johnsgate and Cluam Towers, and drove out the soldiers of O'Neile. O'Neile summoned him to a council of war: he refused to attend, and being supplied with ammunition by the mayor, he turned the cannon on the town, and declared that he would not leave his post until a surrender should be agreed to. To enforce this declaration, he admitted two hundred of Ireton's men, and a surrender was speedily settled, and

* Budgell. Borlase.

† Carte.

concluded on the 27th. Twenty-four persons were exempted from mercy. Of these, the bishop of Limerick escaped in a soldier's dress, and found his way to lord Muskerry: the bishop of Emly, Fennel who had been instrumental in letting in the enemy, the mayor, who gave up the keys, and most of the other excepted persons were hanged by Ireton's order.

A few days after Ireton died in Limerick; and the progress of the campaign was checked by uncertainty as to the officer who should take the command. We shall here follow lord Broghill's fortune, and leave the thread of Irish history to be taken up elsewhere. The king had landed in Scotland—a rising in his favour under the conduct of Lesley had been effected, and the command of the parliamentary troops had been transferred from Fairfax to Cromwell, who was sent against the Scots. By the subsequent progress of events, he arrived, as the reader knows, at the highest station in the kingdom; and, under the title of lord Protector, acquired a power beyond that of which his unfortunate predecessor had been deprived after ten years outpouring of English blood. Thus raised, Cromwell acted with a degree of wisdom and efficient vigour, which has gone far to counterbalance the means by which he attained his eminent position; and it must be regarded as a high testimony of lord Broghill's merit, that this profound and keen observer and judicious statesman, should have sent for him, as one on whose conduct, prudence, and valour, he relied; and, if true, the fact, mentioned by Budgell, confers no less distinction—that he took “visible pleasure” in the conversation of lord Broghill, Mr Waller, and Milton. Such is the testimony which makes lord Broghill the selection of the most judicious, and associates him with the greatest and noblest spirit of his age.

Nor was the preference of Cromwell such as terminates in favourable regard, as it is mentioned by all of his biographers, that lord Broghill was sent to Scotland as the fittest person to conciliate and suppress the rough government of general Monk. He felt great and natural reluctance to accept of this commission, but suffered himself to be persuaded, with a stipulation for his recall in one year. After which he remained in England, using his influence with Cromwell, so as to protect the royalists. One day Cromwell told him in a playful tone and manner, that an old friend of his was just come to town; and to lord Broghill's inquiry as to the person, informed him it was the marquess of Ormonde. On this, lord Broghill protested his ignorance of the fact, and was answered, “I know that well enough; however, if you have a mind to preserve your old acquaintance, let him know that I am not ignorant where he is, or what he is doing.” He then let him know the place where the marquess lodged; and lord Broghill lost no time in making the important communication to the marquess, who availed himself of it, to make his escape without delay.

Very shortly after, his lordship had an opportunity of standing between the same noble family and the suspicions of the lord protector. Cromwell received information that the marchioness of Ormonde, to whom his own conduct had been generous and considerate, was engaged in forwarding the plots of his opponents and enemies in London, where she lived under his protection, with an allowance of £2000 a-year.

Lord Broghill denied the probability of such an accusation, on which Cromwell, who was the time very angry, threw him some letters, which he told him had been taken from her cabinet, and desired him to read. On looking at these, lord Broghill fortunately recognised the handwriting of the lady Isabella Thynne, between whom, and the marquess, there had been a correspondence of the kind suspected by Cromwell. When lord Broghill assured him that the letters were written by that lady, Cromwell demanded his proof. The demand was promptly met by the production of other letters from the same lady, "of whom," writes Budgell, "he told two or three stories so pleasant, as made Cromwell lose all his resentment in a hearty laugh."*

It is mentioned by the same writer, that when Cromwell's parliament was about to pass some very severe resolutions against Clanricarde, lord Broghill interposed, and made statements so creditable to lord Clanricarde's character, that the resolutions were not brought to a vote.

The death of Oliver Cromwell was followed by the transient protectorship of his feeble son, Richard. The general respect which the strong character of his father had impressed, secured his unquestioned succession: the turbulent and heterogeneous composition of the government, army, and parliament—the unprincipled ambition of some, and the fanaticism of others, quickly made his seat uneasy. A few persons, who, by their rank and elevated principles of conduct, were alien from the party with which they moved; but who had, partly from necessity, partly from gratitude, partly too from a just sense of public expediency, served under the late protector, now continued faithful to his son, when the crowd, whose motive is ever sordid, was falling away from him. On his father's death, Richard Cromwell chose lord Broghill, Dr Wilkins and colonel Philips to be his advisers: and the position was one which brings into a strong light the tact and sagacity of this lord. At the first meeting of his parliament a military faction entered into one of those intrigues, which hitherto had been found successful as a means to enable a few soldiers to control the government, and dictate terms to parliament. All the fanatics, intriguers, and malcontents, rallied round Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambart and other general officers, and formed a cabal, which, from the place of Fleetwood's residence, where they daily met, was called the "cabal of Wallingford house:" they prevailed on the protector to sanction their meeting as a general council, to inquire into the grievances of the army, and petition for their redress. They were no sooner met than they voted a "remonstrance," in which they lamented the neglect of the "good old cause," for which the army had fought and bled; and proposed that the military power of the kingdom should be vested in some person whom they could trust.

Richard Cromwell's friends were alarmed, they were all with one exception peaceful men, whose habits unfitted them to cope with such spirits; but Broghill was more than equal to the emergency. Having asked the fear-struck protector whether he had really consented to the meeting; Richard replied that he had. "I fear," said Broghill, "that

* Budgell.

your highness will soon repent it." The protector answered that he hoped his lordship would do what he could to prevent the mischief; to this Broghill simply answered, "that as a general officer, he had a right to be present, and would see what they were doing." He at the same time turned to lord Howard and Falconbridge, who were present, and expressed his expectation of their assistance, which "they faithfully promised." On the meeting of the military council, these lords, with lord Broghill, repaired to Wallingford house, where they found five hundred officers assembled. After a prayer from Dr Owen, Desborough made a long speech, in which, among other topics of the same nature, he expressed his apprehensions of the departure of their prosperity, from the circumstance that many "*sons of Belial*" had latterly been creeping in among them. To remedy this, he proposed "to purge the army:" as the most expedient method by which this might be effected, he advised a test oath, by which every one in the army should swear that "he did believe in his conscience, that the putting to death of the late king Charles Stewart was lawful and just." This proposal was received with a loud tumult of approbation; and the whole assembly seemed so eager to have it adopted, that lords Howard and Falconbridge, considering themselves a miserable minority to outface five hundred persons, got up and went to give the protector a sad account of this affair. But when the assembly became silent, lord Broghill rose and declared his dissent from the last speaker; he said, that "he was against the imposition of a test upon the army, as a grievance of which they had felt the effects, and against which they had repeatedly declared. That if they once began to put tests upon themselves, they would soon have them put upon them by others, and there would be an end to that liberty of conscience for which they had so often fought. To the particular test proposed, he objected, that it was unjust and unreasonable to require men to swear to the lawfulness of an action, the circumstances of which they were unacquainted with. If, however, they would persist in desiring a test to purge the army, he had as good a right to propose a test as any one, and would take the liberty to offer one, which he hoped would be more reasonable than that proposed by the noble lord who went before him. He then proposed, that any one should be turned out of the army, who would not swear to defend the established government under the protector and the parliament." Among other arguments for this, he told them, that "if that test should have the ill-fortune to be rejected in that council, he would move it the next day in the house of commons, where he was confident, it would meet with a better reception." This proposal was yet more warmly received than the former; and, while the assembly was yet in a state of noise and confusion, Broghill found his way to another place between two very influential persons, colonels Whalley and Gough, two "hot men," and persuaded them to take the same part, which each of them did. In the mean time, Fleetwood and Desborough, with some of their friends, retired to consult; and having returned, declared that they had not before considered all the disadvantages of tests, but they were now convinced so fully by the arguments of lord Broghill, that they proposed to have both the tests withdrawn. Lord Broghill consented, and the blow was parried for the

time. Lord Broghill then represented to the protector, whom he found in consternation, from the account of lords Howard and Falconbridge, that this council would infallibly do mischief if they should be suffered to hold their sittings. He advised their immediate dissolution. Richard Cromwell acceded, but desired to know how this was to be managed. Lord Broghill proposed to draw up a short speech for him, which he was to deliver next day after sitting among them for an hour. This being agreed to, Broghill prepared the speech, and at ten next morning, Richard Cromwell astonished the council by his unexpected appearance; and, having taken his seat in a chair of state, he sat for an hour listening to their debate. He then rose up, and addressed them as follows:—

“Gentlemen,—I thankfully accept of your services. I have considered your grievances; and think the properest method to redress what is amiss amongst you is to do it in the parliament now sitting, and where I will take care that you shall have justice done you. I therefore declare my commission for holding this assembly to be void; and that this general council is now dissolved; and I desire, that such of you as are not members of parliament, will repair forthwith to your respective commands.”

This speech produced the intended effect of disconcerting the conspirators, and frustrating their immediate design. But they were at no loss to conjecture the source from which the blow proceeded, and their anger against lord Broghill was vehement. They immediately endeavoured to excite the irritation of that weathercock machine of democratic impulse, a republican house of commons. Some one of them the next day moved, that “an address should be presented to his highness the protector, to know who had advised him to dissolve the council of war, without the consent or knowledge of his parliament.” On this, Budgell says, it is hard to credit such absurdities, that some of lord Broghill’s friends advised him to retire. Lord Broghill sat still until his enemies had made their speeches, and then addressed the speaker to this effect:—“I am not against presenting this address; but humbly move, that another may be presented to the protector at the same time, to know who advised the calling of a general council of officers, without the consent or knowledge of the parliament; for surely that man is guilty, who durst advise his highness to call such a council, without either the knowledge or consent of his parliament.”

Now the majority of those present, not belonging to the military council, were ready to take alarm at the overbearing demonstrations of a power, of which, the effect had been repeatedly felt by this very parliament. The speech of lord Broghill at once called up this general sense to his rescue; it was a well-timed appeal both to the fear and pride of the commons; it was warmly received and the faction of Fleetwood was again discomfited. But though the council of officers had been thus dissolved, they continued to hold private meetings and to concentrate the power which they held in their hands. It was evident that their designs were not to be defeated by votes and the forms of civil authority; lord Broghill and those who acted with him, apprized the protector of the danger of his position, and expressed their opinion that nothing could save him, but the same vigorous and direct recourse to

strong measures which always characterized the policy and ensured the success of his father. They volunteered to act for him, and pledged themselves to the success of the course they recommended. But Richard Cromwell was mild, amiable and averse from all harsh and violent proceedings, he felt himself to be unequal to the dangers and difficulties, and to the cruel and arbitrary resources necessary in such contests, and he recoiled from the suggestions of his firm and spirited advisers. "He thanked them for their friendship, but he had neither done nor would do any person any harm, and rather than a drop of blood should be spilt on his account, he would lay down that greatness which was but a burthen to him."

From this his friends came to the conclusion that he could not be supported with any success, or to any useful end. They remitted in their efforts and consulted their own interests. Lord Broghill repaired to Munster, of which at that time, he was president; on his way he had to encounter the ambushes and snares of Fleetwood and Desborough, who would willingly be freed from the risk of again having to encounter one so able and so honest. It was at this time that lord Broghill came to the resolution to exert himself for the restoration of the royal family. It had indeed become plain to every observant and considerate mind, that it was the last resource against the utter dissolution of all civil order in the clash of parties, of whom none looked beyond the object of private interest, pursued by means inconsistent with any settled state of things, or any respect to constitutional rights. With this impression lord Broghill retired to Ireland, to act as occasion might offer means: he was pursued by the suspicion of his enemies. Acting with an energy which the feeble Richard Cromwell was quite unequal to resist, his military tyrants now compelled him to dissolve the parliament, and took the reins of power into their own hands. He signed his abdication, they restored the *long parliament*, and the country was at their mercy. To Ireland, they sent their commissioners and gave them a special charge to have "a particular eye to lord Broghill, and if possible to take some means to confine him." In pursuance of this, these officials sent a summons to lord Broghill, to appear before them in the castle of Dublin. He consulted his friends, and was by them advised not to place himself in the power of his enemies. He however, determined to outface them, for the refusal would be equivalent to a direct defiance, which he did not yet consider himself able to maintain, as alone it could be maintained, by a demonstration of military resistance. He therefore took his own troop and repaired to Dublin; and on his arrival, leaving his men without the town he presented himself before the commissioners. They told him that the state had been induced to suspect that he had designs against their government, and had given them directions to confine him, unless he could give sufficient security for his peaceable conduct. Lord Broghill demanded what security they desired; they proposed that he should enter into an engagement under penalty of estate and life, that there should be no commotion in Munster; he asked for time to consider, it was refused; he then desired to be satisfied on one point, "if they intended to put the whole power of Munster into his hands, if such was their intention he was ready to enter into the en-

gement they required, if not he must appeal to the world on the cruelty and unreasonableness of expecting, that he would answer for people over whom he had no control." The commissioners were embarrassed and ordered him to withdraw, and had a long discussion as to the most expedient proceeding; one of them, who was the lord chancellor of Ireland, declared that "even the honest party in Ireland would think it hard to see a man clapped up in prison who had done such signal service to the protestants; but that on the other hand, he could never consent to an increase of lord Broghill's power, which the state was apprehensive might be one day employed against them. He for these reasons proposed, that they for the present should not take any steps but contrive to send lord Broghill in good humour back to his command, to continue there till they should be further instructed." The board agreed—lord Broghill was called in, received with compliments and smiles, and invited to dine with the commissioners, whom he understood very well and repaid in their own coin.

Returning to Munster he proceeded steadily in the prosecution of his design; first securing his own officers, he also made a friend and confederate of the governor of Limerick where there was a garrison of 2000 men, and having secured Munster, he opened a communication with Sir C. Coote, who engaged in the same undertaking with an ardour which demanded all the restraint which could be exercised, by his more cool and cautious ally. Their efforts were soon successful beyond expectation; the country had long been ripe for the desired change. Wearied with the continuation of a series of contests for power and gain which appeared interminable, as one party succeeded the other with the same objects, and as little regard for any consideration divine or human, but the fear, revenge and cupidity which were the common spirit of every side.

Lord Broghill sent lord Shannon to the king to invite him over to Ireland, assuring him of a force sufficient to protect him against his enemies. But Charles had at the same time reason to hope for a similar invitation from England.

The activity of Coote had excited the notice of the commissioners, and finding that he could no longer proceed in secret, he urged lord Broghill to an open course, Broghill reluctantly consented, he had indeed no choice. His confederate was acting with a vigour which quickly produced extraordinary changes: having seized Galway, Coote surprised Athlone, marched to Dublin and impeached Ludlow. While the spirited example diffusing a general excitement, the royalists seized Youghal, Clonmel, Carlow, Limerick and Drogheda.

The magistracy of Dublin now acted their part and called a convention, which met and held its deliberations in defiance of an order from the English council of state. The members of this assembly declared their abhorrence of the proceedings of the high court of justice, and of the late king's murder. They secured the payment of the army and declared for a "free parliament;" a phrase then universally understood to imply the restoration of the royal family, for such was known to be the universal sense. The English parliament were this time compelled to confine their attention to the desperate effort of self-

preservation; after a few last efforts they recalled their agents; and the king was soon proclaimed in Ireland.

Lord Broghill met with a cold reception from the king. He suspected that he had been injured by Coote, and to counteract the impression which he thought to have been made upon the king by the misrepresentations of a rival, he sent his brother lord Shannon with a letter of Coote's, containing an acknowledgment, that it was at his instance that he first entered on the design of declaring for the king and parliament. This lord Shannon contrived to show to his majesty, and it had the effect desired. Lord Broghill was soon after created earl of Orrery, made one of the lords-justices in Ireland and president of Munster.

We have now to conclude with some notice of the literary productions, which would entitle this nobleman to a place in a different section of this work, if his far more eminent qualities as a soldier and a statesman, did not place him among the most eminent political characters of his own time. When the political state of the two kingdoms at last subsided in that repose so much and so long desired, the activity of the earl of Orrery's spirit no longer exercised in the field and council, found its occupation in the pursuits of literature; or as one of his biographers describes this change of employment, "finding that there was no longer any occasion for his sword, resolved to employ his wit and learning for the diversion and amusement of his royal master."* The first results of this new turn of the earl's loyalty were his plays, which we must admit owed their eminent success to the exceedingly depraved state of literature and literary taste in the time of Charles II. They were received with a degree of applause which might be appealed to as a test of merit, but which when justly appreciated only shows the absurdity of such a test; and their court favour was no less than their public success. Of this it is mentioned as a proof that in his play of Henry V., "Mr Harris who acted as king, was drest in the duke of York's coronation suit; Mr Betterton who played Owen Tudor, in king Charles's, and Lilliston who represented the duke of Burgundy, in the lord Oxford's."†

He wrote many poems, of which the composition may be described as poor and inartificial, though the thoughts display the moral elevation of the writers mind. We here extract a portion of one upon the death of Cowley, for whom the earl entertained a high regard.

"Our wit, till Cowley did its lustre raise,
May be resembled to the first three days;
In which did shine only such streaks of light,
As served but to distinguish day from night.
But wit breaks forth in all that he has done,
Like light, when 'twas united to the sun.
The poets formerly did lie in wait
To rifle those whom they would imitate;
We watch'd to rob all strangers when they write,
And learned their language, but to steal their wit;

* Budgell's Memoir.

† Budgell.

He, from that need his country does redeem,
 Since those who want, may be supplied by him ;
 And foreign nations now may borrow more
 From Cowley, than we could from them before ;
 Who, though he condescended to admit
 The Greeks and Romans for his guides in wit,
 Yet he those ancient poets does pursue,
 But as the Spaniards great Columbus do ;
 He taught them first to the new world to steer,
 But they possess all that is precious there.
 When first his spring of wit began to flow,
 It raised in some, wonder and sorrow too ;
 That God had so much wit and knowledge lent,
 And that they were not in his praises spent :
 But those who in his dauidic look,
 Find they his blossoms for his fruit mistook.
 In differing ages different muses shin'd ;
 His green did charm the sense his ripe the mind.
 Writing for heaven, he was inspired from thence,
 And from his theme derived his influence.
 The scriptures will no more the wicked fright,
 His muse does make religion a delight.
 Oh ! how severely man is us'd by fate !
 The covetous toil long for an estate ;
 And having got more than their life can spend,
 They may bequeath it to a son or friend :
 But learning (in which none can have a share,
 Unless they climb to it by time and care ;)
 Learning, the truest wealth a man can have,
 Does with the body perish in the grave :
 To tenements of clay it is confined,
 Though 'tis the noblest purchase of the mind :
 Oh ! why can we thus leave our friend possess'd
 Of all our acquisitions but the best !
 Still when we study Cowley, we lament,
 That to the world he was no longer lent ;
 Who, like a lightning to our eyes was shown,
 So bright he shined, and was so quickly gone :
 Sure he rejoiced to see his flame expire,
 Since he himself could not have raised it higher,
 For when wise poets can no higher fly,
 They would, like saints, in their perfections die.
 Though beauty some affection in him bred,
 Yet only sacred learning he wou'd wed ;
 By which th' illustrious offspring of his brain
 Shall over wit's great empire ever reign :
 His works shall live, when pyramids of pride
 Shrink to such ashes as they long did hide."

His lordship's leisure at the end of a life of busy political labour, appears indeed to have been more productive of great and varied efforts of literature than the whole lives of most writers, and lead us to infer that if he had lived in a later age when the education of public men became more elaborate and extended, his genius would have displayed itself to advantage in some more congenial labours than those of poetry or even prose, inventions which to ensure any result of standard value, demand a more peculiar combination of powers than are required for the ordinary toils of either cabinet or camp. Besides the produc-

tions which we have already noticed, the earl composed the romance of "Parthenissa," in six parts, dedicated to Henrietta Maria Duchess of Orleans. We extract the opening of this dedication which is characteristic of the writer and of his time.

"Madam,—When I had last the honour to wait on your royal highness, you ordered me to write another part of Parthenissa, and you gave me leave at the same time to dedicate it to you. Only your commands, madam, could have made me undertake that work; and only your permission could have given me this confidence. But since your royal highness appointed me to obey, it was proportionate to your goodness to protect me in my obedience, which this dedication will; for all my faults, in this book, cannot be so great as his, who shall condemn what has been written for you, and is by your own allowance addressed to you."

The earl of Orrery also wrote a treatise on the art of war, in which he displayed much acquaintance with the ancient writers on that art. He wrote a reply to "a scandalous letter lately printed and subscribed by Peter Welch, procurator for the secular and regular priests of Ireland," and lastly "poems on most of the festives of the church." The preface to this latter little work merits attention. "God of his abundant mercy, having convinced me how much precious time I had cast away on airy verses, I resolved to take a final leave of that sort of poetry; and in some degree, to repair the unhappiness and fault of what was past, to dedicate my muse in the future entirely to sacred subjects."

He is mentioned to have mostly written his poetry while confined by fits of gout; on which Dryden's compliment has been preserved: "like the priestess of Apollo, he delivered his oracles always in torment; and that the world was obliged to his misery for their delight."

Lord Broghill is known also to be the writer of the act of settlement which soon after passed. This we shall have again to notice, when we come to detail the events of Irish history after the restoration.

He continued to obtain the respect of the country and the favour of the court; and was so esteemed for his superior sagacity and knowledge of affairs, as to be almost uniformly consulted on every occasion of moment by the king. His time was divided between his presidency and London, where he attended both as a peer of parliament and a member of the council.

He died 16th October, 1679, leaving a high character as a soldier, a statesman and a writer. Among the prominent peculiarities noticeable in the history of his life, the extraordinary combination of readiness and self-possession which so often extricated him from difficult emergencies in which most persons would have been lost, must have repeatedly attracted the reader's notice. His personal appearance is thus described: "his person was of a middle size well shaped and comely, his eyes had that life and quickness in them which is usually the sign of great and uncommon parts. His wit rendered his conversation highly entertaining and amusing."*

* Budgell.

Murrough O'Brien, Earl Inchiquin.

DIED A. D. 1674.

MURROUGH O'BRIEN was probably born nearly about the year 1616, and was the eldest son of Dermid, fifth baron of Inchiquin. He was made ward to P. Fitz-Maurice, Esq., in 1628, and had special livery of his estates in 1636. Being of a spirited and martial temper, he early took to the study of arms, and served in the Spanish army in Italy for a couple of years, for the purpose of completing his military education. He returned home in 1639.*

He soon entered on the field of public life, and in a season that was to afford full development to his warlike taste. He was appointed vice-president of Munster, under St Leger, and was with him in the campaign into the county of Waterford, already described in our notice of St Leger.†

He soon distinguished himself, not only by his bravery, by many distinguished successes on the small scale, on which the early encounters of that long rebellion were fought. And when St Leger died, he was considered by the lords-justices as the most competent person to fill his station. He was first appointed in conjunction with lord Barry, who was manager of the civil departments as O'Brien of those connected with military affairs. Lord Barry, however, soon dying, his colleague was left to the general command. His lordship commanded in the battle of Liscarol, where he was opposed by Mountgarret, at the head of 7000 foot, and 500 horse; and with 1850 foot, and 400 horse gained a signal victory, with the slaughter of 800 of Mountgarret's men: when he might have marched on to Limerick, and put an end to the rebellion in that part of Ireland; but from the entire want of the necessary means to support his army upon that long march through a wasted country, he had not from this for some time an opportunity to perform any remarkable exploit.

After the cessation was concluded, he sent aids in men to the king; and soon after waiting upon his majesty in person to obtain his confirmation in the presidency of Munster, he had the affliction to discover that he did not stand as highly in his majesty's favour as his services had deserved. A nobleman, in no way connected with Ireland, but high in court favour, had supplanted him, and the presidency of Munster was pledged to the earl of Portland. During this visit to the court, O'Brien was also strongly affected with grief and indignation to perceive that the king, in order to strengthen himself in any way he might, was inclined to court the popular party, and to abandon the protestant interest in Ireland: urged by these considerations, and considering the interest of his country to be preferable to that of any other, he soon after his return, began to consider that for the present at least, this would be most effectually consulted by adopting the parliamentary side; and, with this opinion we must so far concur as to say, that, judging according to the principles of the party he had uni-

* Lodge.

† Vol. II. p. 417.

formly acted with, he was not wrong. On this point two grounds of common prejudice are likely to bias the judgment: one is the confusion of the parties in Ireland with those in England: the other the judgment formed from the after circumstances of the war. The war between Charles and his parliament was viewed in Ireland as secondary to the great struggle for existence between two great parties who were otherwise in no way further connected with English politics than as they might promote their several interests; and for this reason, in judging of the consistency of individuals, it is not to be regarded whether or not they adhered throughout to the king or to the parliament; but whether or not they adhered to their own principles and party. As to the subsequent misfortunes of Charles, and crimes of his parliament, they could not, at the period to which we here refer, have been in the contemplation of any one, and must be left out of the question. In Ireland, the Roman catholic party, while in direct opposition to O'Brien's, were also in declared opposition to the king: the royal party soon saw reason to endeavour to conciliate them, and in this, were to a great extent successful, while the parliament, on the other hand, maintained those principles which had a closer affinity with the protestant interest throughout both kingdoms. It is thus apparent with what perfect consistency some of the most eminent persons on the stage of Irish affairs may have changed their paths and kept steady to their principles.

In 1644, we find O'Brien among the most spirited opponents of a cessation, which he viewed as more in accordance with the interests of king Charles, than for the protestant interest. He adhered to the parliament, and acted under its command, and by its assistance. Joining with lord Broghill, he drove the Roman catholic magistrates and inhabitants out of many of the southern towns, Cork, Youghal and Kinsale. After which he received from parliament the appointment of president of Munster. It was at a time however when the parliament was yet compelled to confine its resources to the wars in England, and their Irish adherents were left to carry on the struggle as they might themselves find the means. O'Brien was even compelled to enter into a truce with the rebels, which continued till the next spring, when the war was again renewed by the earl of Castlehaven.

On this occasion, he took the field with 1000 horse, and 1500 foot, and took several castles. But he was not supported by the parliament, and for some time nothing occurs in his history of sufficient magnitude to be specified: his zeal for the parliament was probably but small, as we find some accounts of disputes between him and their commissioners. In the year 1647, he obtained a very decided victory at Knocknones, near Mallow, 13th November, over a strong body of Irish under lord Taaffe. He had on this occasion 6000 foot, and 1200 horse: the Irish army amounted to 7000 foot, and 1076 horse. The loss of life was considerable on both sides: among the slain on the part of lord Taaffe, was the well known Alexander MacDonell, or Colkitto, so called for being left-handed, and famous for personal prowess; his name is however best known as occurring in one of Milton's sonnets;

" Colkitto, or MacDonell, or Galasp."

On receiving the account of this victory, the parliament voted £10,000 for the war in Munster, and £1000, with a letter of thanks, to lord Inchiquin. This money did not however arrive, and in consequence, the army, under lord Inchiquin, began to suffer severely from want: nor was he without much cause for apprehension from the increasing armies of the Irish, who were on every side watching for the favourable moment to attack him in his distress. In this extremity he wrote a spirited remonstrance to the parliament, in which, alluding to his services, he complains, that of the £10,000 only £1500 had been remitted for the army. The delay he attributes to the misrepresentations of parliamentary agents in Ireland, with whom he considered himself to be an object of jealousy. The remonstrance was signed by his officers; but was ill-received by the parliament, who committed several of them, but soon after released them.*

This may perhaps be the truest way of accounting for his shortly after opening a treaty with the marquess of Ormonde; though in his case as in that of others, the exposure of the real views of the parliamentary party may have been sufficient to cause his desertion of them. He did not publicly declare an intention, which would at the moment have only the effect of putting him completely in the power of his enemies. He became suspected by his officers, but by considerable effort, and the exertion of much firmness and self-possession, they were first repressed, and then gained over. The parliament from this began to keep a close watch over his actions; but not having it in their power to displace his lordship, he was still enabled to take such private measures as appeared best to favour the party he had recently adopted. Cromwell sent over lord Lisle, with a commission, for a limited time, under the expectation that he might thus both supersede the command, and undermine the influence, of one whom he knew to be so dangerous as O'Brien. But the expedient proved unavailing for Cromwell's purpose: the authority of O'Brien was not to be shaken by any effort of a stranger; and as no step more direct could have been conveniently or safely adopted, against one, who had not openly declared his designs in favour of the royal party; the result of this proceeding was rather an increase than a diminution of his power. At the recall of lord Lisle, the suspicion against O'Brien seems indeed to have slumbered, for he was left in the command of the whole English army in the province of Munster. This force he carefully endeavoured to strengthen, and to animate with the spirit of his own intentions. In the mean time he kept up a constant correspondence with the marquess of Ormonde, whose movements he tried to accelerate, by all the resources of entreaty and strong representation.

On the 29th September, 1648, the marquess of Ormonde landed at Cork. Lord Inchiquin publicly received him as the lieutenant of king Charles, and by this decided step, drew upon himself the long impending bolt of parliamentary indignation. The parliament voted him a traitor; but the king appointed him president of Munster. Nor was it long before he signalized his newly awakened loyalty. The marquess of Ormonde having received intelligence, that Jones, the parlia-

* Borlase.

mentary governor of Dublin, had sent a large detachment of cavalry to Drogheda, sent lord Inchiquin after them. Inchiquin took first an entire troop by surprise; and soon after coming up with colonel Chidley Coote at the head of three hundred horse, he gave them a bloody overthrow: killing a great number, and compelling those who escaped, to scatter in every direction.* Encouraged by this success, and not unjustly reckoning upon the impression of terror it would create among the parliamentarians in that quarter, Inchiquin sent messengers to the marquess with intelligence of his success, and proposing to besiege Drogheda. The marquess assented, and forthwith detached to his aid, two regiments of foot, two cannon, with a sufficient supply of ammunition. With this reinforcement he proceeded to lay siege to Drogheda, which capitulated within a week, having made a very gallant resistance. The garrison, to the amount of six hundred good soldiers, entered into the ranks of the victorious regiments, by which lord Inchiquin was considerably strengthened for further exertion.

A little before this Owen O'Neile had joined the parliamentary side, and Inchiquin now received information that Monk, who governed in Dundalk, had orders to supply this new ally with ammunition, and that a strong party, under the command of general Farrel, had been sent by O'Neile to receive this important aid. Determining to interrupt this proceeding, Inchiquin marched towards Dundalk. Within a few miles of that city he met Farrel, who was on his departure with the supplies he had acquired; and attacking his forces vigorously, he destroyed nearly the entire party, routing the cavalry, and killing or taking the whole of five hundred foot. The supplies designed for Owen O'Neile thus fell into his hands. Advancing to Dundalk, he invested it, and in two days, contrived so much to dishearten the garrison, that they compelled Monk to surrender. This was an acquisition of exceeding importance: the military stores were richly supplied, and the whole garrison, officers, and soldiers, joined him freely. Monk departed alone for England.

But in the mean time the parliamentarians having at length prevailed in England, had their hands set free, and their attention disengaged from a conflict for existence. They now began to turn their attention to the settlement of affairs in Ireland, which they had hitherto regarded only as subsidiary or adverse to their struggles with the royalists. Cromwell was preparing to come over, and there was diffused a very general impression, that the war would on his arrival, assume a widely different character, and suffer a change of fortune unfavourable to the royal party. Under such a sense, the minds of many began to fall away, and many to undergo a prudent change. Lord Inchiquin's troops, of whom the greater part had been parliamentary, and all ready to join the most solvent employers, deserted—so that by the end of the same year in which his successes had appeared to promise a different issue, he was left without a man, and compelled to take refuge in France.

In France he was advanced by the French king to a command with the rank of lieutenant-general. And on the conquest of Catalonia

* Borlase,

appointed viceroy there. He afterwards continued for many years in the French service in Spain and the Netherlands. On one occasion he was with his family taken prisoner by the Algerine corsairs; but redeemed himself and them. During his captivity, count Schomberg had been sent to take his command in Portugal, where he had been sent to assist the Portuguese in the revolt against Spain. Lord Inchiquin returned therefore to France, where he lived privately till the restoration. He then came to England, and was by the act of settlement restored to his estate, and had £8000 granted to him as a compensation out of the treasury, on account of his losses.

His lordship died 9th September, 1674. He had married a daughter of Sir W. St Leger, and left three sons and four daughters.

Sir Charles Coote, Earl Mountrath.

DIED A. D. 1661.

SIR CHARLES COOTE, son of the first baronet of that name, who fell in 1642, when making a gallant and successful resistance against the rebels in their attack on Trim, succeeded his father as provost-marshal of Connaught, and inherited both his loyalty and heroism. He early distinguished himself in arms, and was returned a member for the county of Leitrim when he could have been little more than of age. On the rebellion breaking out in 1641, he was besieged in Castle-Coote, by 1200 Irish, under Con O'Rourke, and made so good a defence that they raised the siege in less than a week. He shortly after defeated Hugh O'Connor, son of O'Connor (Dun) of Ballintobber, and in a subsequent encounter, took his former assailant O'Rourke, and most of his party prisoners. He also made a successful sally from Castle-Coote upon the camp of the rebels at Creggs, and possessed himself of their baggage and provisions. From similar successes in the neighbourhood of Ballinasloe and the surrounding districts, he was enabled to supply Athlone with provisions and other necessities, of which they stood much in need. In May, 1642, he took Galway, and advanced to the very borders of Mayo. He and his brother Richard, were jointly appointed to the office of collector and receiver-general of the king's composition money, rents and arrears, in Connaught and Clare, which office was to last during their lives.

During this and the following years, the vacillating conduct of the king, his unconstitutional concessions, and still more, the intrigues carried on by secret agents, under his sanction, served to diminish the zeal and confidence of many of his protestant adherents, and to detach them from his interests. The parliamentary army, bold and consistent in their conduct, and calculating in their policy, lost no opportunity of seducing to their ranks the valiant and the high-minded, and Sir Charles, amongst others, fell under their influence. In 1645, he had been made lord-president of Connaught, which office the parliament confirmed to him, with an allowance of £500 a year. They also recommended him strongly to Sir James Montgomery of the county of Down, to whose place he removed his wife, mother-in-law, and

several of his children, where he left them, and proceeded with Sir James to visit Belfast and other northern towns of importance. He was supplied with a draught of fifty men out of each of the northern regiments for the defence of his province, besides provisions and ammunition, and these men were afterwards formed into a regiment, and placed under Sir Charles's command. In subsequent years he obtained from the parliament large portions of forfeited lands in various counties, and while president of Connaught, he purchased from transplanted Irish papists 4444 acres, which purchase was subsequently confirmed to him by Cromwell. After the restoration, several other grants of land also passed into his family under the act of settlement.*

With the forces committed to him, he secured the safety of the province, and in 1645, he was despatched by the parliamentary army to the British generals in the north, to entreat their assistance for the subjugation of the rebels in his government, and particularly to aid him in the reduction of Sligo. They granted him four thousand foot, and five hundred horse, and with these he quickly took Sligo, and desolated to a great extent the surrounding country. About this time the confederates of Kilkenny ordered Sir James Dillon to lead eight hundred men to the aid of the Roman catholic archbishop of Tuam, who undertook the recovery of Sligo. The archbishop had nearly effected his object, having penetrated into the town, when intelligence arrived of the approach of Sir Charles Coote with a large northern army, on which they precipitately retreated and relinquished all the advantages they had obtained. Sir Charles, not satisfied with the simple evacuation of the town, attacked the retreating army, and gained a decisive victory over the archbishop, who showed much bravery, but fell in the action. Some very important documents were found in the baggage of the archbishop, amongst others, an authentic copy of the private treaty between the king and the confederates, of which lord Glamorgan, a Roman catholic lord, and a particular favourite with Charles, had been the secret agent. This document was quickly published, and became a very effective weapon against the king, as, from its conveying the impression of double-dealing on his part, it not only justified in their own eyes those who fell from their loyalty, and sided with the parliament, but it perplexed and alarmed his most faithful adherents. Sir Charles now pursued a more reckless course, and with his parliamentary forces ravaged in the west of Ireland the property of all those who continued faithful to the king, or supported the confederates. These latter vehemently urged the marquess of Ormonde to proclaim him a traitor, and were supported in this petition by the marquess of Clanricarde, whose lands he had despoiled.

In 1649, Sir Charles maintained Derry for the parliament; but as the British forces in Ulster had strongly expressed their abhorrence of the king's death, the marquess of Ormonde hoped after that event, to induce him to make common cause against the regicides, and to declare for the young prince. From Sir Charles, however, he only received vague and general professions, although he had on former occasions expressed his determination never to support or join with

* Lodge.

those who contemplated the slightest injury to the person or descendants of the king. In the year following he routed the Irish at the battle of Skirfola. He drove Sir George Monroe from the counties of Down and Antrim, and possessed himself of that entire district with the exception of the castle of Carrickfergus. He subsequently extended his conquest;—Carrickfergus surrendered, and nearly the whole of the northern provinces fell into the hands of the republicans. Ireton and Coote advanced towards Athlone, but at that time failed to get it into their possession. In the following year however, Sir Charles made a sudden descent from the Curlew mountains and invested the town, and before Clanricarde could come to its relief, it was taken, and Sir Charles on his way to Galway.

He succeeded in gaining two good passages over the Shannon, to enable the parliamentary army to besiege Limerick, and after the surrender of that city Sir Charles again appeared before Galway, when the assembly there convened, prevailed on Clanricarde to send an offer of submission in the name of the nation to general Ludlow. No general treaty of submission would then however be accepted, and it remained with the parliament to make what distinctions it might hereafter think fit, according to the political conduct previously exemplified by the individuals. Few who could escape, cared to commit themselves to the tender mercies of the republicans. Preston the governor of Galway fled by sea, and the city contemning the authority of the marquess yielded itself almost without a struggle.

On the death of Cromwell, his successor summoned the members for Ireland to his parliament, and Sir Charles brought back the account of its dissensions, dissolution and the intrigues of Wallingford-house.

On the abdication of Richard Cromwell there was a general sensation in favour of the king, which was augmented by the jealousy and severity of the republican commissioners. They immediately dismissed those in power, who they thought had a leaning to the royal cause, and amongst others lord Broghill and Sir Charles Coote, and on the quarrel between the army and parliament they cashiered two hundred officers without any trial, or any crime being imputed to them that could tarnish their military honour.

Broghill disgusted at the anarchy which prevailed in England, and having a natural leaning to monarchy, strengthened both by education and experience, secretly determined to further and foster the re-action which pervaded the kingdom, and which he saw must ultimately lead to some decided result. He communicated his views on the subject to Sir Charles Coote, who had already shown symptoms of disaffection to the parliament, which he had originally joined not from principle but interest. This powerful guide now pointed in the opposite direction, and he readily followed the indication: conscious that his past political conduct required a zealous and energetic reparation, he determined to declare at once in favour of the king, and by a bold and decisive course to obliterate the past. The time was not however yet come for such a measure, and it, at all events but ill accorded with the prudent and cautious policy of his friend, who with difficulty restrained him from an untimely and fatal disclosure of their designs. Gradually however a large portion of the nobility and gentry secretly joined their ranks,

and suddenly burst on the astonished republicans with a force not to be resisted. By a sudden and determined effort they seized on the Castle and made prisoners of Jones, Corbet, and Tomlinson. Sir Charles went over his old ground in the re-conquest of the town and fort of Galway, where he changed the governor, planted a new standard, and marched a large body of men (chiefly of old English) to the assault of Athlone, which he also took, and then led his victorious followers to Dublin; there he impeached Ludlow, and the commissioners of high treason, and he and Broghill invited Charles immediately to repair to Ireland, declaring their own devotion to his cause, and their abhorrence of the unholy proceedings in England, and of the murder of the king. Ludlow shortly after arrived in the port of Dublin, but they failed in making him a prisoner, as he would not venture to land, and was soon after recalled to England by the humbled parliament. He had however sent letters and emissaries to the garrisons to endeavour to revive their old republican spirit, and to exasperate them against the new party but in vain. Sir Hardress Waller, one of the late king's judges remained, and left no means untried to get the partisans of the royal cause into his power. He mixed himself in their councils, and when they were in the act of preparing a violent remonstrance to be forwarded to England, he suggested the adjournment of the council to the castle, of which he had taken steps to obtain the possession, when he would at once have seized their persons; failing in this plan he publicly denounced them, and declared his determination to bring them to immediate and condign punishment. Sir Charles with his usual energy instantly mounted his horse, and accompanied by Sir Theophilus Jones, rode through the streets loudly denouncing him in turn; and calling for a free parliament, succeeded in rousing the passions of a large concourse of people, with whom he invested the castle, and after about a week's resistance obliged him to surrender, when he was sent a prisoner to England.

Charles, glad of the accession to his party of so successful a general, and such a zealous partisan, wrote him the most flattering answer, accepting his services, offering him an earldom, with any command he might select, and promising to take his family under his especial protection. Sir Arthur Forbes (afterwards lord Granard), was the bearer of this communication, and Sir Charles, whose zeal was redoubled, exerted his energies and influence with such effect that crowds flocked with incredible rapidity to the royal standard. When it was debated at their councils whether they should stipulate for a confirmation of their estates previous to the restoration of the king, Sir Charles urged that they should intrust their interests wholly to him and leave him unshackled, and he at length prevailed over the more cautious policy of lord Broghill and others. This triumph however sowed the seeds of jealousy between these two candidates for the royal favour, which might have had very prejudicial effects on the cause they were both pledged to uphold.

After the restoration, Coote was appointed one of the commissioners for Ireland, in conjunction with major Bury, and in the absence of the lord-lieutenant, governed the kingdom. In 1660 he was again made president of Connaught, keeper of the castle of Athlone, constable of

the town, &c., &c., besides being put in possession of the lands and privileges enjoyed by lord Clanricarde as president of that province, with permission to appoint a deputy in his absence. He was also made governor of the county, town and citadel of Galway; and in 1661 was created earl of Mountrath, and afterwards one of the lord-justices of Ireland, in conjunction with Sir Maurice Eustace, lord-chancellor, and the earl of Orrery. He was also appointed receiver-general of the composition money in Connaught and Thomond, and was governor of the Queen's county. In the latter end of this year he was attacked with smallpox, of which he died, and was buried in Christ's church, Dublin. He married twice, first a daughter of Sir Francis Ruish, by whom he left one son, who succeeded to his title, and next, Jane, daughter of Sir Robert Hannay, by whom he had several children, who succeeded to his various estates in the counties of Kilkenny, Carlow, Kerry, Roscommon and Limerick.

James, Duke of Ormonde.

BORN A. D. 1607—DIED A. D. 1688.

THOMAS, the tenth earl of Ormonde, who was among the most illustrious warriors and statesmen of the sixteenth century, was yet living in the next at an extreme old age, at his house on Carrick-on-Suir, where he died in his 88th year, in 1614. As he had no male heir his estates were limited to Sir Walter Butler of Kilcash, his nephew, and grandson to the ninth earl. Sir Walter's eldest son Thomas, by courtesy lord Thurles was drowned 15th December, 1619, near the Skerries, in his passage from England, twelve years before his father's death. By his lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Pointz of Acton, in the county of Gloucester, he left seven children, of whom James the eldest is the subject of the following memoir.

This distinguished statesman is said by Carte to have been born at Clerkenwell in London in 1610, but Archdall shows from the unquestionable evidence of an inquisition taken at Clonmell, April, 1622, before the king's commissioners and twelve gentlemen of the county of Tipperary, that his birth took place in 1607. The words of the inquisition are "*Predictus Thomas vicecomes Thurles, 15th die Decembris, anno dom., 1619, obiit et quidam Jacobus Butler, communiter vocatus dominus vicecomes Thurles, fuit filius et hæres præfati Thomæ Butler, et quod præfatus Jacobus Butler, tempore mortis prædicti Thomæ fuit ætatis duodecim annorum, et non amplius.*"* Carte refers to the difference of date thus maintained, but mentions that he never obtained a sight of the inquisition, and therefore considers it insufficient ground for rejecting the duke's own statement, which makes it 1610.

At the period of his birth his father was under the displeasure of Sir Walter Butler for having married contrary to his wish. And when he went with his lady into Ireland, they lived for some time in the

* Quoted by Archdall.

county of Cork at the house of Mr Anthony Southwell; but their first born, James, was left with his nurse, who was a carpenter's wife at Hatfield.

In 1613 they sent for him, and his first voyage at this early age, and at a time when travelling was more tedious and liable to casualties than is now easily appreciated, made an indelible impression on his memory. He was often afterwards heard in the last years of his life, to allude to his recollection of being carried over the bridge at Bristol, and of the varied new sights which attracted his childish notice.

His grandfather's resentment had by this time passed, and the old earl his great-granduncle was desirous to see a descendant who was to be the future representative of his honours. And the duke often mentioned his recollection of this ancestor, then a blind old man, having a long beard and wearing his George about his neck whether he "sat up in his chair or lay down in his bed." He remained while in Ireland with his grandfather at Carrick-on-Suir, until 1620 the year after his father's death; he was then removed by his mother to England, and received by courtesy, the title of viscount Thurles. He was then, according to his own statement, nine years of age, and was placed at school with a Roman catholic named Conyers, at Finchley near Barnet.* This arrangement was not long allowed to continue. King James who considered that the principles of the rising generation would constitute a most important element in the plans on which his mind was then intent, the furtherance of the reformation and the improvement of Ireland, had made some rather arbitrary stretches to secure this important point. By some manœuvre of Sir W. Parsons the wardship of lord Thurles became vested in the crown upon his father's death, although he inherited no lands the tenure of which involved this consequence.

The king equally apprehensive of the family and kindred, as well as the schoolmaster, all Roman catholics, removed the young nobleman from Finchley and gave him in charge to Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, by whom his education, as well as that of other youths committed to his charge, was much neglected. Carte who mentions these particulars, observes that his writings afterwards were such as to show that their great excellence both as to matter and method, were rather due to the force of his clear and vigorous understanding than to early cultivation. In the archbishop's family he was but indifferently attended to in other respects. Abbot received no compensation from the king, and must have indeed felt the charge to be rather onerous. Lord Thurles was allowed but £40 a-year for himself and his attendants. His own small estate was under sequestration, and as the reader may happen to recollect, the bulk of the family estates had passed from them by an unjust decision of king James.

Thomas the 10th earl of Ormonde, having no issue male, had settled the chief part of his estates upon his nephew, Walter Butler, with remainders over to the male heirs of Walter, and in the succession of inheritance, to the male representatives of each branch of the family, from the first earl of Carrick. He moreover, specially, reserved cer-

* Carte.

tain manors and £6000 for his daughter. On his death the title came to Sir Walter, who also thought by the settlement here mentioned to take possession of the estates. But king James had given the daughter of his uncle in marriage to Sir Richard Preston, one of the grooms of his chamber, whom he created earl of Desmond. Preston preferred a claim to these estates in right of his wife, who was heir general; a long and vexatious suit followed, during which the king interfered at every step to overrule the judges: the case was however too plain, for even the compliance of that day, and the judges decided contrary to the desire of the king, who then decided the question himself by a stretch of arbitrary power, for his favourite. The earl attempted to resist this grievous wrong, for which the king seized on all his estate and committed him to the Fleet, where for eight years he was reduced to the most shameful extremes of want. This occurred when lord Thurles had attained his nineteenth year; he then went to live with his grandfather, at a house which he took in Drury Lane, upon his liberation from the Fleet prison.*

The young lord Thurles had been brought up a protestant, while the earl was, as his ancestors had been, a Roman catholic. He did not however show any concern in the religion of his grandson, who it is said, at this interval of his life entered very much into all the most approved gaieties of his age, and passed but little time in the earl's company. He manifested a very strong preference for the theatre, which seldom wanted his presence, and was on terms of intimacy with all the actors. He was no less assiduous in pushing his way at court; and we are inclined to think, began already to be governed by that superior sagacity, prudence and discretion which so prominently colour the whole conduct of his life. His active spirit must have manifested itself early to his nearest acquaintance, by many small incidents not recorded; and we doubt not but he already began to be marked by the observant, as one likely to take a prominent place in the foremost wave of the age's progress. It was perhaps with some such perception that the duke of Buckingham when about to embark for the relief of Rochelle, refused to allow lord Thurles to accompany him, on the pretence (for with the unprincipled Villiers, it must have been such) that he had not the permission of earl Walter his grandfather. The earl was then in Ireland, whither he had returned to look after his property, and had not been consulted by his grandson, with whose actions he had not been in the habit of interfering. The young lord would have pressed his wishes, and remained for the purpose at Portsmouth, where the expedition was on the point of sailing; but the assassination of the duke put an end to this expectation and he posted back to London.

It was about six months after this incident that he first met the lady Elizabeth Preston, his kinswoman, and the heiress of those large estates which by the settlements of her grandfather should have descended to himself. Her mother was at the time not long deceased, and her father had like his own been drowned near the Skerries, in his passage from Dublin to Holyhead. The king had given her guardianship to the earl of Holland, then groom of the stole, and a favourite at court.

* Carte.

She had reached her fourteenth year, and is said to have at that early age been well informed in the history of the lawsuit, which had been so disastrous to the house of Ormonde, and was yet, likely to be attended with further mischief to both parties, as it was yet kept alive. It was also perhaps strongly felt, that the injustice by which her right commenced was not likely to outlast the favour and the obstinate self-assertion of the king. These impressions appear to have had their full weight on the minds of both parties, and no less on those of the more prudent part of their kindred. Among others, the lord Mountgarret is mentioned,* as having entered strongly into the interests of his kinsman, and as he had constant opportunities of visiting the young lady, he was sedulous in his endeavours to interest her in favour of lord Thurles. She was designed by the king for some favourite whom it was his desire to enrich, but she soon manifested a lively preference for her young relation, whose very handsome person, spirited manner, and engaging conversation, had with the representations of others engrossed her entire affection. This could not be long concealed at court, and soon reached the royal ear. One day when lord Thurles went to court he was called by the king, who warned him "not to meddle with his ward." Lord Thurles answered that "he never saw her any where but at court, where all paid her respect; and he having the honour to be her kinsman, thought he might do the same as well as others; but if his majesty would forbid him his court he would refrain from it." The king was embarrassed and replied, "no, I do not command that."†

The object of lord Thurles' most anxious wishes was thus apparently brought near by affection and choice, while the prejudices and projects of the king seemed yet to interpose a wider barrier; but some of the main obstacles had recently been removed and others had to be combated by exertion. The duke of Buckingham's assassination had cleared a formidable opponent from the path. Buckingham had a sister married to William Fielding, earl of Denbigh, for whose youngest son he had obtained the promise of the young lady in marriage; and her father was not only thus pledged, but in order the better to secure his own claims to the estates of the earl of Ormonde, he had prevailed on the king to grant him the wardship of lord Thurles, by which means he had acquired as much power over him as over his daughter. The death of both these parties opened a way for the negotiation of the matter; and to this lord Thurles determined to resort. There were some slighter impediments, but the only one worth naming was the influence of the earl of Holland, who obtained the lady's wardship from the king on her father's death. As however lord Holland had no object but the then common one of the pecuniary advantage accruing from such an office, lord Thurles took the obvious and direct course of an offer of £15,000, which was more than in the ordinary course the guardian could hope to make by the other proposed marriage. Accordingly he agreed; and the suit being thus advanced through this legitimate authority the king soon consented: he had a strong regard for the memory of Buckingham, and felt desirous to fulfil his known wishes in favour of his nephew; yet he could not but have recognised the hard-

* Carte.

† Ibid.

ship and injustice attendant on the whole proceeding, from beginning to end; so that when applied to through the formal channel he had no reluctance to wave claims, which could only be maintained by the impotency of court favour. He issued letters patent dated, 8th September, 1629, declaring that "for the final end of all controversies between Walter earl of Ormonde, and Elizabeth, daughter of Richard earl of Desmond, he had given his consent, that there shall be a marriage between James viscount Thurles and the said Elizabeth, and, grants her marriage and the wardship of her lands to the said Walter earl of Ormonde, &c., &c."

This marriage was solemnized in London, Christmas, 1629, and four days after lord Thurles went with his lady to Acton in Gloucestershire, the seat of his uncle Sir Robert Pointz, where for the following year he remained, chiefly occupying himself in study. His education had been neglected while he resided with the archbishop, and after he left his tutelage, he had entered into the dissipation of the court with too much zest to admit of much profitable cultivation. But in the calm and tranquil seclusion of domestic life his good taste and good sense recognised the disadvantage, and his active spirit prompted the correction. The chaplain of his uncle was his able and willing assistant, and gave him such instruction as was thought requisite at that period.

At the end of 1630 he went to reside with his grandfather in Carrick, where he chiefly resided till 1632 when the earl died; and lord Thurles thus succeeded to the estates and honours of his illustrious race. Of the most active disposition, he had at once on coming to Ireland determined to enter into the service of the crown, and purchased a troop of horse in the king's army in Ireland; and soon after made a journey to England, to solicit in some matter of confiscations due to the king. We only mention the circumstance here for the sake of a few slight incidents, which Carte relates, and which help to throw some light on his personal qualities and character. "Having travelled over part of the country and visited his lady's relations, he rode from Edinburgh to Ware in three days, and could easily have been in London that night, had he not thought it convenient to stay there; but so little sensible was he of any fatigue, that, finding books in the room, instead of going to rest, he fell to reading, and about the dead of the night lighted on the '*Counter Scuffle*' which he had not seen before, it put him into such a fit of laughter, that the landlord and his wife started out of their sleep amazed, and scarce able to imagine what the matter could be."* His journey home, in about a year and a-half after, is no less descriptive of the travelling of his age. He left London on Saturday morning in September, having two horses upon the road; he proceeded to Acton within eight miles of Bristol, where he received a message from the captain of the "Ninth Whelp," in which he was to sail, that the wind was fair for Ireland, and the vessel would sail by eight next morning. "His lordship took care to be on board by that hour, and first making a hearty meal, went to his rest and slept eleven hours at a stretch. The ship set sail by nine with so favourable a gale, that by nine next morning they ran up to Waterford, and his lordship meet-

* Carte.

ing with Sir Robert Welsh there, got horses from him, rode sixteen miles to his house at Carrick, and dined there that same Monday at three of the clock."

It was about the same time that the earl of Strafford was sent over to the government of Ireland; and the reader is aware of the state of this country at the time. Half-conquered, half-settled, having imperfectly undergone those reducing and civilizing, though cruel processes by which all other nations have attained political maturity; planted, subjected, and ruled sufficiently to cause immense irritation, but insufficiently for the purpose, the country existed in a state not to be classed under any political category, or described truly, unless by comprehensive exceptions, negations, and qualifications. The common people were slaves, and in a state of the most barbarous degradation; the chiefs were disaffected to government and discontented with their condition, and anxious for the return of their ancient despotisms. The English were balanced between the oppressions of unsettled law, and the encroaching anarchy which on every side pressed upon its ineffective control; the clergy were strenuously wielding a newly acquired popular influence, to obtain an ascendancy for their church, and to crush the growing power of the church of England; while this latter in its turn, was compelled to maintain its existence by the use of such weapons of defence as the political forces of government afforded. Such was the involved state of the political elements which Strafford came to overrule, by the exertion of a sagacious understanding and a degree of political courage rarely if ever excelled.

It is hard now to pronounce, how far the policy of Strafford might have been eventually successful in reducing to a state of civil order such a chaos of troubled elements. But the juncture of events was singularly unfortunate for the undertaking, and the rough means of which it demanded the employment, became in the event sad aggravations of the evils which followed. At the same time that Wentworth was endeavouring with a rough hand to mould the heterogeneous elements of Ireland, into the form of constitutional polity; the very power on which all authority over this country could subsist, was beginning to be rudely shaken by the beginning of a revolution. The contentions between king Charles and his parliament, soon withdrew the attention of the English cabinet from the real interests of Ireland, and the policy of lord Strafford was crossed, entangled and rendered inconsistent by the interference of considerations arising from the position of English affairs. The sound and sagacious system of controlling and improving policy, soon degenerated into a mingled system of forced expediency and state manœuvre, which neutralized the good of a firm government and added to the evils which were to follow.

It was in such a critical position of both countries that we are to introduce the young earl of Ormonde into public life. The earl of Strafford, whose policy it was to control every spirit, had exercised a despotic personal control over such of the aristocracy as were not the partakers of his councils. Of this we have already offered some examples. Among other things indicative of the stern and absolute temper of his government, was the order by which the members of the Irish parliament were disarmed by the usher on entering the house.

This order, was, it is true, warranted by several precedents in both countries, and was rendered seemingly expedient by the animosity of parties, and by the circumstance, that the parliament then held its sittings in the castle. It is also likely that the parliamentary character of the dangerous proceedings then passing in England, made it seem expedient to tread down to the utmost the temper of the Irish parliament which was more likely to show the insubordinate temper than the constitutional wisdom of that of England. Whatever was the policy, the order was made by proclamation, that the lords and commons should enter the house without their swords; and the usher of the black rod was stationed at the door to receive them from the members as they entered. To the demand of this officer all assented, and no demur was made until the earl of Ormonde came. As he proceeded to enter, without taking the slightest notice of the usher's first intimation, he was brought to a stand by a more peremptory check from this officer, who stepped before him, and with the usual "jack-in-office" impertinence of state menials, demanded his sword. The earl shortly answered, that if he had his sword "it should be in his guts," and without further notice of the cowed official, walked to his seat. This incident could not fail to find its way at once to the viceregal ear: Strafford felt outraged at so unexpected a defiance of his authority, and resolved to make the refractory young noble feel the weight of his power. Without a moment's delay, he sent to summon the earl to his presence at the rising of the house. Ormonde came; he was asked if he was not aware of the order, and if he had not seen the lord-lieutenant's proclamation? he replied in the affirmative, but added, that he had disobeyed them in deference to a superior authority to which his obedience was first due, and then he produced the king's writ, by which he was summoned to come to parliament *cum gladio cinctus*. To this there was no immediate reply; though Strafford regarded the words as merely formal, they were too express a justification, and on too specious an authority to be slighted, and he was unwillingly compelled for the time to dismiss the offending earl without even a reprimand. This was not very agreeable, either to his policy or to his peremptory temper, and he seems to have for a while balanced on the adoption of some vindictive course. He consulted Sir George Radcliffe and Mr Wandesforde, the master of the rolls, who were both his confidential friends and advisers: he told them that "the single point under consideration was, whether he should crush so daring a spirit, or make him a friend."* Sir George Radcliffe, the friend of both, gave this prudent advice, "that as it was necessary for the lord-deputy to have some friends among the great men of the kingdom which he was to govern, so he knew none among them all who so well deserved to be made a friend as that earl, whether he considered the power which his birth, alliances, estate, and capacity, gave him in the nation, or his personal qualities, the zeal which he had both by principle and inclination for the service of the crown, the generosity of his nature, and the nobleness of his sentiments which qualified him for such a friendship as he should wish his patron to enjoy and cultivate." Such was the

* Carte.

counsel adopted by lord Strafford. It was indeed amply recommended by other considerations as likely to have immediate influence. Ormonde already possessed the weight which was due to his active energy of character and his property in the country: in parliament he had not only his own voice and vote, but was fortified with the proxies of the lords Castlehaven, Somerset, Baltimore and Aunger. Strafford entered with the determination of his own character into the course he now adopted, and soon came to the most friendly understanding with one whose principles were all conformable to his own on the questions of main importance. The friendship of Strafford was probably of no small use to the earl in the conduct of some private affairs respecting his estates, which he had then for some time been engaged in negotiating with government. A project for the plantation of the large tracts of territory, known by the designation of Upper and Lower Ormonde, had long been entertained, and at several times taken up by the crown. It was important to the earl, as involving the question of rights in a district of which he was the chief proprietor. The plan was revived under the active and improving administration of the earl of Strafford, and Ormonde received notice of it from Sir W. Ryves, who at the same time pressed him to take the same course which his grandfather had done, which was to enter with zeal into the project and make a composition with the government for the saving of his own rights and estates. This was the more likely to succeed, as the inquisition essential to the purpose of government, to ascertain the title of the crown, required the inspection of his lordship's title deeds. The king had also written to enjoin, that every attention should be paid to the wishes and to the interests of the earl. Under circumstances so favourable, the plan was highly to the advantage of Ormonde, who entered into it readily, and won the favour of the king and the Irish government by the alacrity with which he offered his services, and afforded the use of the necessary documents. The spirit of compliance was desirable to encourage, and there was thus an additional reason on the part of government for making every concession to Ormonde, so as to display to others in a strong light the advantages of the concession he had made. By the help of these advantages, and his own active temper, Ormonde not only secured his own estates but contrived also to settle and establish some claims which had been rendered questionable by the encroaching disposition of his neighbours. He obtained also in addition, a grant of the fourth part of the lands to be planted by the crown. He also obtained grants of a thousand acres each for his friends, "John Pigot, Gerald Fennel and David Routh, esquires."*

After some minor honours, not sufficiently important to detain us here, the earl was in 1640 appointed lieutenant-general of horse, with £4 per day; and during the absence of the earl of Strafford, he was made commander-in-chief of the forces raised by this earl for the aid of the king against the Scots. Strafford sailed for England 3d April, 1640, leaving Wandesforde his deputy; and by the extraordinary activity and diligence of Ormonde, an army of 8000 effective men was rapidly collected in Carrickfergus. As there was no result of any im-

* Carte.

portance, we forbear from entering into the full details of this service: the levies were easily made, but the means for their payment were not so readily forthcoming, and the delay caused much inconvenience, and some false movements in the council not essential to relate. This army was actually commanded in Carrickfergus by St Leger, as the earl of Ormonde was obliged to remain in Carrick by the illness of his countess, who was soon after delivered of a daughter—the lady Elizabeth Butler afterwards married to Philip earl of Chesterfield.

The absence of Ormonde from parliament, where his great influence and commanding ability had leading weight, was now strongly felt, and his presence was importunately desired by Wandesforde. As however he was reluctant to leave his countess in her illness, he compromised the matter by sending the proxies intrusted to him, together with his own to noblemen in whom the government might confide. The parliament had become at this time more difficult to manage than hitherto: the example of the English parliament, the infection of the covenanters, the yet latent springs of the approaching rebellion, had given a tone to their temper, which the absence of Strafford left uncontrolled. Strafford was detained, first by his own protracted illness, and then by the illness of the earl of Northumberland, whose place he was compelled to fill in the command of the king's army against Scotland. During this time, the Irish parliament made a violent and partly successful effort to diminish and delay the subsidies which had been voted for the public service: so that in consequence a considerable sum was not levied, till the eruption of rebellion in the following year put an end to the proceeding.* The expedition against Scotland was rendered abortive by the king's irresolution and the intrigues of his leading officers, who were secretly promoters of the parliamentary party, and consequently favourers of the covenanters; and the foundation of all his subsequent disasters was laid by the treaty of Rippon. The prosecution of Strafford followed and the death of Wandesforde.

In the course of 1640, and the following year, the earl of Ormonde exerted his best abilities in parliament to resist the strong popular current that had set in against the king. The absence of the earl of Strafford, and the perceptibly increasing power and success of the English commons had first produced a new and sudden change in the temper of the commons: from being obsequious and complying, they took at once the tone and entered into the views of the English commons. Their former loyalty, which was the subserviency of fear and self-interest, was at once and wholly thrown aside; and the spirit which it had required a firm hand to suppress, and would have required a long continuance of civil subordination to correct, blazed forth with all the fierceness of sect and party: the personal animosities, the national prejudices, the resentment of wrongs, the long-fostered aims, ambitions, discontents, and jealousies, all rushed into a contest, in the course of which all had something to gain, to redress, or to revenge. The Roman catholics and the puritans, hitherto violent in mutual fear and hate, felt for a moment the tie of a common interest, and advanced together to the work of confusion. Yet, as ever has been the case in

* The detail of this intrigue will be found in Carte, I. pp. 99—102.

the public movements of faction, the declared motives and the public complaints were such as to impose upon the general historian a necessity of admitting that their language is not contrary to reason, or their complaints and demands devoid of justice. The reason, however, and the justice, will, in the case before us, upon a fair view of the facts, appear to be little more than specious pretences, addressed to the ignorance and prejudice of the public mind—ever facile and precipitate, and more so then than now. We cannot here devote a dozen pages to the minute analysis necessary to expose this error; which is however of the less importance, as it seldom imposes upon any person capable of reflection, unless when he imposes on himself. It will appear on strict investigation, that the chief part of the demands and complaints of this parliament owe their present appearance of right and justice to the want of an adequate conception of the real state of Ireland, its parties, interests, and civil state at that period: the remaining portion was advanced, not for its justness or expediency, but for the vexatious purpose of party. It may be looked on as a maxim, that in any state of things the disposition to find fault can never be at a loss for fault to find; and having guarded our meaning with these qualifications, we may say that the first ebullition of the commons, though evidently vexatious in purpose, was highly warranted in justice. The principle of taxation was unequal, and threw the burden almost exclusively on the aristocracy: the subsidies, which had nevertheless been freely voted, were exorbitant, and the method of rating them unequal and oppressive. Their complaints of the conduct and fees of the ecclesiastical courts and other similar institutions, perverted for the purpose of exaction, were founded in truth, though mainly recommended to the parties as affording a common basis for present union.

In the following session they met in a temper of still increased resistance, and went more directly to their purpose. The laws which Strafford had obtained for national improvement, were the first objects of attack, they represented the inconveniencies attendant upon the enforcement of the laws against plowing by the horse's tail, burning corn in the straw, plucking sheep alive, &c.; and in their violence displayed their sense of constitutional freedom by urging the remedy of these complaints by the application of arbitrary power on the part of government.

Their attack upon the subsidies was the most effective effort of their combination with the English parliament. Having in the beginning of the year voted four entire subsidies, and of their readiness to add to this tribute of zealous devotion, if the king should require it: in a few months more, they complained of the burden and postponed its levy; and on their next meeting, before the same year was past, they passed a resolution for the purpose of defeating it entirely, by which it was reduced to the tenth of its amount.

The contest, as it deepened, supplied them with more weighty and better considered topics of grievance, and having become closely cemented with the English commons, they received the aid of profounder knowledge, and were urged on by more long-sighted atrocity than their own. The remonstrance contrived by the prosecutors of Strafford gives a deeper and more statesmanlike tone to the pro-

ceedings of this otherwise trifling assortment of factions. In this remonstrance they set forth the happy subjection of Ireland to England—the descent of the greater part of the people from English parents—the ancient extension of magna charta to Ireland—its flourishing condition, and its liberal subsidies. From these they pass to the misgovernment of the earl of Strafford, and the various exactions, oppressions, impolitic measures, and malversations, by which this country, the great and flourishing descendant of England, was suddenly reduced to a state of exhaustion and poverty: the decay of trade—the perversion of law—the denial of rights and graces, monopolies, tyrannies, &c. A remonstrance composed of sixteen articles—specious in sound, and grounded on partial statements as well as gross misrepresentations and false views of justice and political expediency, but well suited to the temper of the time—had been voted by the commons. It was introduced in the lords, where it was defeated by the strenuous efforts of Ormonde; aided by the superior intelligence of that body, which then, as ever since, and indeed it always must happen, combined a greater portion of the political knowledge of the existing period.

On the death of Wandesforde, the earl of Strafford earnestly advised the king to appoint Ormonde to the government of Ireland. But though such also was the king's own judgment, a very violent opposition was made by the Irish commons, and it is attributed to the animosity and the intrigues of the earl of Arundel that this opposition was successful. The earl of Arundel conceived himself to be entitled to large property in Ireland, which was in the possession of the earl of Ormonde and others. The lands in question were a portion of the lands of Strongbow, which had passed with one of his daughters by marriage into the family of the earl of Norfolk, from whom lord Arundel derived his claim. But upon inquisition, it was discovered that the lands which might be affected by this claim were different from those for which it was made: the inheritance of the lady who married Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, being in the county of Catherlogh, (Wicklow,) while the territory of Idough now claimed, had been brought by another daughter into the possession of an earl of Gloucester, from whom it was traced till it came by regular descent through the family of March to Edward IV. Being thus vested in the crown, it was granted by James I. to Francis Edgeworth and his heirs, from whom it was purchased by the earl of Ormonde and the earl of Londonderry. These facts were affirmed by an inquisition issued 11 Car. I. On this occasion it would appear from Carte's statement, that some flaw which he does not sufficiently mention, was found in the titles, and that consequently the earls of Ormonde and Londonderry passed the lands in fee-farm for a rent of £30 a-year to Sir Charles Coote, who afterwards joined them in passing the same lands to Mr Wandesforde, who took out new letters patent on the commission for the remedy of defective titles. The earl of Arundel's pretence to any title seems to be clearly out of the question; but his desire to obtain the lands was excited and kept alive by an artful projector who filled his imagination with glittering dreams of Irish gold; and when the king's title was found, he got letters from his majesty to the lord-deputy to give him the preference of such lands as had belonged to his ancestors. As no lands were

found to answer this description, he was disappointed, and his pride mortified, and he became the active enemy of both the earls of Ormonde and Londonderry.

King Charles, whose facility in yielding to influence was among the first means of that reverse of fortune, which was aggravated perhaps by the obstinacy of his conduct, when resistance became dangerous, now yielded to the counsellors by whom he was surrounded; and we are inclined to attribute it more to the influence of his own enemies than to those of the earl of Ormonde, that this nobleman was set aside in deference to the clamour of the Irish commons, who were wholly unworthy of regard. The appointment of Dillon and Parsons followed, of whom the former was as we have already explained soon dismissed to make way for Sir John Borlase.

A stormy session of parliament followed in which nothing worthy of detail occurred. The two houses were engaged in mutual conflicts, which mainly originated in the irritable temper and the perverse obstinacy of the house of commons: they met with well-tempered and effective opposition in the lords, where the earl of Ormonde took the lead of the king's party, and displayed a degree of firmness, judgment, and sagacity, which would indeed be a sufficient reason for the detail of the circumstances, had we not by far too large a fund of more important matter, illustrative of the character of this great man. The most memorable proceedings of the session consisted in a factious and scandalous impeachment of the members of Strafford's council at the suggestion of the conductors of his prosecution in the English parliament, for the sole purpose of preventing their attendance to give testimony in his favour. The charges were vague, and upon that frightfully iniquitous abnegation of all the principles of justice, the rule of cumulative treason, by which it was assumed that many slight misdemeanours not separately treasonable, might in their sum amount to treason. As these charges were futile, so the collision to which they gave rise did not consist so much in their consideration, as in a continued struggle on either side to effect or frustrate their real and direct intent, which was the confinement of the persons accused. The most curious of the small incidents of this protracted and turbulent discussion, was a suggestion prompted by the bold and ready ingenuity of the earl of Ormonde, in answer to the urgency of the opposite party for the arrest of the lord-chancellor; to this importunate proposal he answered that his removal would be a suspension of their authority; a point which caused great discussion, and thus with many other such frivolous questions helped to divert the efforts of the parliamentary faction in both houses, from graver mischief.

The next affair which immediately engaged the attention of the earl of Ormonde, was of far more interest. There was not money either for the maintenance or the dissolution of the army which had been raised in Ireland. And the king was insidiously urged upon the subject by the parliament, for the evident purpose of embarrassing him. His resources had been entirely exhausted, and it was felt to be a matter of the most pressing necessity, to disband a large body of men for whom he could not afford either pay or sustenance. As however this could not well be managed without the immediate disbursement of a

large sum of money, no expedient seemed better than to send this force into foreign service. The English parliament urged by the Irish agents in London, addressed the king on the expediency of their being speedily disbanded, and he answered, by informing them of his difficulties and of the expedient he intended to adopt. On the very next day, 8th May, 1641, he sent an order to that effect to the Irish lords-justices, and a letter to the earl of Ormonde to take the necessary steps, for the cautious and peaceable discharge of a duty so nice and difficult. He signed also warrants for seven of their colonels to transport a thousand men each, out of Ireland for foreign service. Meanwhile, the provision of the requisite expense was entirely left to the Irish government. The lords-justices consulted with the earl, but they could only agree to execute the order as they might, and Ormonde sent his warrants as lieutenant-general to have the soldiers' pay stopped from the 25th of the same month. By great efforts, among the king's party in Ireland, a small sum sufficient for a part payment to the soldiers, enabled the earl to succeed in his difficult task, and by the aid of precise arrangements, and much vigilant and active precaution, he succeeded in disbanding them without any of the disorders that were apprehended.

Preparations had at the same time been made to send the regiments as already ordered into Spain, and the Spanish ambassador had expended large sums, when suddenly the commons started a new discontent and clamoured loudly against this disposition of the army. They affected to fear, that the king of Spain would use them only to raise rebellion in Ireland, after the example of his grandfather. The suggestion was perhaps more founded in probability than sincerely meant, as we have already stated in our notice of Roger Moore;* and it was a fact well known to one of the parties then composing the popular faction in the house, that the rebellion was at that moment in the course of preparation, and its first outbreak actually under contemplation, in the very place and among the very persons pointed out by their suggestion, the Irish refugees in Spain. Such was the substance of the speeches of the parliamentary leaders, Darcy, Cheevers, Martin and others, who specially mentioned several of those Irish officers who commanded the Irish in the Spanish service, with the titles of their Irish rank, "Prince of Ulster, marquis of Mayo, and earls of Desmond and Beerhaven." By this clamour the king's design was interrupted and a most violent contest ensued, which in the course of the summer was transferred to the English house, where it was pursued with equal violence and pertinacity, to the great embarrassment of Charles, whom it involved with the Spanish ambassador and humiliated in the eyes of the public, and of all Europe.

On the attainder of Strafford, he urged upon the king to give the garter, which would thus become vacant, to the earl of Ormonde; as considering him the person most likely to be both efficient and zealous in his service, under the pressure of those great embarrassments which were progressively thickening around him. Nothing can indicate more plainly the impression made by the character and con-

* Life of Roger Moore, Vol. II.

duct of Ormonde upon the mind of that great statesman; and it is not less a high proof of Ormonde's elevated disinterestedness, that he refused the honour on the ground that in the king's present difficulties, it could be of use as a means to win over, or to fix the adhesion of some one less steady and principled than himself.

We now come to the rebellion of 1641, which we are to view mainly in relation to the conduct of the earl of Ormonde; but from the central position which his power and station, as well as his conduct and character affords, we shall take the occasion to give a more methodical and broader sketch of this marked portion of our history, of which we have already been enabled to offer select details and scenes. For this purpose, little more will be necessary than to notice briefly in their order of time the main series of general events, only expanding into detail those which bear any direct reference to the immediate subject of our narration.

Upon the fullest investigation of the preceding history, we can have no doubt that a rebellion was for many years in preparation. It was looked to by the clergy as the only means of raising them to that position of authority and influence, of pomp and splendour, which they saw exercised by their order upon the continent. The native Irish chiefs, looked upon it as the only hope of their restoration to their ancient rank and estate. The lawyers viewed it as the harvest of their order, whether as opening the field of legal extortion, or the path to official malversations. The people who were poor, lawless, and barbarous, had visionary ideas of advantages, artfully suggested by their leaders, and more substantial notions of the harvest of plunder and the delights of military license. These combustible elements lay crudely combining under the quiet surface of peace, and progressive improvement, the results of the plantations and institutions of the last reign; and slowly matured for the moment of occasion.

That moment was brought on by those various and rough collisions of party, which we have slightly sketched in this memoir. The troubles of the king were the fundamental cause; from this all received a violent accelerative impulse, and in the separate lines of their several views, came together, to seize the evident occasion and to fix and widen the breach which was made in the ramparts of civil order, for the surer and safer execution of their several designs. Within the walls of parliament and within the circles of office, influence and power, all may be considered as having had their definite aims: every one was for himself, his party, or the constitution, or the king. Without, the views of the multitude were agitated and fluctuating, the people whose understandings are the tongues of their leaders, or the report of rumour, were filled with various sentiments of discontent, anger, fear, and expectation. The specious misrepresentations of a parliament of which the main weapon was the language of grievance and accusation, filled the country and gave a prevailing tone to popular feeling. And thus under circumstances from which rebellion would have arisen out of the position of the king's affairs, a long organized rebellion was kindled. Roger Moore and his associates as isolated individuals could not have moved a man, or done more than to organize a burglary; but the moment was come and the country prepared, and they had only to apply the fatal

firebrand to the issue of the inflammable vapour, and the fiery volume broke out with its broad red blaze, to wrap the land in conflagration beyond their power to quench or moderate.

For many years before 1634, Ever MacMahon afterwards titular bishop of Clogher, was, by his own confession to the earl of Strafford, employed upon the continent, with others of his order and country in soliciting aid for this event. Early in 1641, the period of the parliamentary outbreaks which we have related, Roger Moore was at work; the conspiracy between himself, Macguire, Sir Phelim O'Neile, MacMahon, and others was concerted, late in the autumn of the same year; on the 22d October, 1641, Owen Conolly's information was received.* The next day had been appointed for the surprise of the castle: and in a few days more the rebels had obtained possession of the principal forts of Ulster. By whom, and by what means, and under what circumstances these exploits were performed, our notices of the principal actors describe.

At this time, the entire military force in Ireland consisted of 943 horse and 2297 foot; an effort which had been made by the king to strengthen this force, had been effectually resisted by the English parliament. The earl of Ormonde was at Carrick-on-Suir, when he received the accounts of the first acts of the rebel chiefs. He had a little before dispatched Sir Patrick Wemyss to the king on some application concerning his palatine rights in Tipperary, which king James had unjustly seized, and which he was now endeavouring to recover. Sir Patrick was immediately sent back to him with the king's commission of lieutenant-general of Ireland. The lords-justices had also sent dispatches on the 24th October, two days after their first intelligence, but their letter miscarried, and on the 2d November, they sent another. But on the arrival of Wemyss with the king's commission, they also made a formal appointment to agree with it, saving however the authority of the lord-lieutenant.

It would have been fortunate for Ireland in that most critical moment, if the sole authority had been trusted to the earl of Ormonde; and these miserable officials had been wholly set aside. Borlase was an old soldier, unversed in state affairs. Parsons was worse than incompetent. To his want of the statesman-like ability which the juncture needed, he added a want of political integrity, steadiness, and firmness. He was a lawyer who had worked his way by his expertness and pliable subserviency; and who was incapable of comprehending any motive beyond the care of his own interest or safety, and unfit for any employment beyond the chicanes of official circumvention, by which life and property were ensnared. He did not clearly perceive the position of circumstances, and entertained neither adequate views of what was expedient, nor upright motives of action; and hence his conduct was inconsistent throughout and wavering. In his moments of terror, desirous to crush, burn, and execute indiscriminate vengeance; in the return of his confidence, as anxious to foster the rebellion of which he could not calculate the real results or see the progress. He thus repressed the zeal and exertion of others, and protected while he exasperated the rebels. To this is to be added, that he was a zealous

* Vol. II. Life of Roger Moore.

puritan, and was chiefly indebted to the support of the parliament for his continuance in power. On this party his expectations were founded, and it is therefore not a mere conjecture, that he was the instrument of their views. It was their principal object by every means to distress the king, and the disturbance in Ireland was no slight assistance. Parsons faithfully pursued the turnings of their policy to the utmost extent of his efforts.

The earl of Ormonde at once urged a decided attack upon the confederates: he represented how easy it would be to suppress them before their people could be armed or fully disciplined. He therefore proposed to march against them with the small body of troops at the time under his command, with a few of the new levies which had been raised on the discovery of the danger. To the great surprise of the earl, the lords-justices refused, on the ground of want of arms for the troops which were to take the field. The earl knew that there was no such want, as there was at the time laid up in the castle a store of arms and ammunition for 10,000 men, besides a fine train of artillery. He was thus therefore reduced to the mortification of finding his commission nugatory, and seeing the time for action pass, while in Dublin he was witness to the frivolous proceedings and the absurd and fraudulent councils, in which nothing was sincere but mischievous proceedings against all such as were not of the faction, and had the ill-fortune to be within the circle of their authority. Carte relates a circumstance which took place about this period of our narrative. A council was sitting in the castle on 13th December, at which the earl of Ormonde was present—when Parsons proposed a court-martial on captain Wingfield, and was steadily resisted by the earl. Parsons lost his temper, and in violent language insisted upon it, assuring him that it should be done for common safety; and that if he did not do it, he should be responsible for losing the kingdom. The earl of Ormonde, who says Carte “was never at a loss in his days for an answer equally decent and appropriate, replied, ‘I believe, Sir, you will do as much towards losing the kingdom as I, and, I am sure, I will do as much as you for saving it.’”

The English parliament for a little time affected great zeal for the tranquillization of Ireland: their object was to obtain the entire authority, and as much as possible to set aside all efforts on the part of the king. They appointed a committee of the members of both houses, which sat daily on the affairs of Ireland. Their real object was favoured by the zealous co-operation of the Irish lord's-justices, and the inadvertence of the king, who, still anxious to conciliate and to leave no room for complaint, recognized their authority by his communications: he was under the delusive notion that their professed object was genuine, and hoped that something might thus at last be done to restore the peace of Ireland. With the same view he exerted himself to obtain some aid in men from the Scottish parliament, which listened to his urgent applications with cool indifference, while the English parliament, having secured their object, let the affairs of Ireland take their course, and pursued the deeper game upon which their leaders were intent. They asserted the power of the sword and treasury, by liberal votes of men and money, which they took care not to send:

large supplies were ordered, but, in the little that was sent, they contrived to make the act subsidiary to the purpose of further weakening the king, by ordering for the Irish service whatever stores lay at his disposal.

Meanwhile, the rebellion was rapidly spreading in Ireland, and though much retarded by the Boyles and St Leger in Munster, and by the influence and activity of Clanricarde in Connaught, every country was in a state of fear and disturbance. The plunders and massacres of Sir Phelim O'Neile, and the first insurgent bodies which were mainly composed of the lowest classes, followed: and many months had not elapsed till the impolicy and oppression of the lords-justices transferred a numerous and respectable party of the best Irish nobility and gentry to the ranks of rebellion. Of these facts, we have already entered into considerable details. The lords-justices in their first terror, were willing to trust these noblemen with arms; but when prematurely elated by the liberal votes of the English parliament, they thought they might safely treat them with suspicion and insult. The accession of these persons to the rebellion had the beneficial effect of considerably mitigating its savage character; and the evil consequence of giving it for a time concert, military talent, resource, and all the formidable attendants of a regular war, conducted by regular means and skill.

The parliament was called, and allowed to sit for two days in Dublin: the Irish gentry who had assembled there had seen and felt the horrors of the rebellion,—they would have entered with an exclusive unity of purpose into the necessary measures for its suppression. The lords-justices were, with the utmost difficulty, prevailed upon to allow them a second day's existence, and they could only vote a representation of the means necessary for the pacification of the country: their representation was transmitted by the justices to the English committee who suppressed it. They offered to vote a large supply, but, before this could be done, they were dissolved, and sent away to abide as they might the storm that raged round their houses. Before their departure from town, the principal members of both houses met, and agreed upon an address to the king, in which they expressed their loyalty, and recommended that the government of the kingdom should be committed to the earl of Ormonde—a circumstance soon after productive of some annoyance to the earl. While he was engaged on his expedition against the rebels at Naas, and was pursuing them with such effect that they were loud in their complaints against his severity, a person named Wishart, who had been a prisoner in the rebel encampment, assured lord Blayney and captain Perkins at Chester, that the earl of Ormonde was in secret correspondence with the rebels. The secret instructions of the Irish members, sent through Sir James Dillon to England, and there taken on his person by the parliamentary agents, gave an unlucky colour to this scandal. The character of the earl stood too high for these low missiles to have any effect further than the moment's irritation. The representation was easily shown to be the act of the parties, without the presence or privity of the earl. The calumny of Wishart was brought forward by the earl himself, and

the calumnious charge refuted by the confession of the accuser, who, having for a while absconded, was discovered and arrested by Sir Philip Percival, and brought before the lords at Westminster, on which he denied having ever spoken to the purpose alleged. He acknowledged that he had said to lord Blaney and others at Chester, that the rebels had always notice of the earl of Ormonde's and of Sir C. Coote's military operations: but the rest of the charge, "that his lordship was the means of advertising the enemy, was the mere invention of some persons who maligned the earl's honour and his own reputation."

In the course of 1642, the rebellion became universally diffused; but with its diffusion, it did not gather strength: the efforts of the several leaders and parties of which it was composed, were little directed or invigorated by any pervading unity of aim. The objects of both leaders were mainly directed by their private ambition—those of the people terminated in plunder. They were however resisted, with still more inefficient means, and less consistency of purpose and effort. The lord's-justices wavered between fear and vindictive animosity, and relaxed their efforts, or adopted measures of severity, according to the pressure of motives which seldom find their way into the light. They looked anxiously to their patrons, the puritans of England, for the aid which was insincerely promised; and, in the mean time, thought it enough to keep Dublin from the rebels. A suppression of the rebellion by the friends of the king was far from their wish, but they were not the less alarmed and vindictive when the approach of rebel parties awakened their own apprehensions and cut off their resources by seizing upon the neighbouring districts. Thus it was that while they sent out their troops with orders to ruin, waste, and kill, with indiscriminate ravage, in the disaffected districts immediately surrounding Dublin, they restrained the earl of Ormonde from any vigorous and systematic effort to reduce an insurrection ready to fall to pieces of itself, and only requiring a slight exertion of strength to dispel it. We have already noticed the earl's expedition to Naas, and the signal success with which it was attended: we have also had occasion to advert to his short and successful march to Kilsalaghan, within seven miles of Dublin. At this time the garrison in Dublin had been reduced to great distress, as there was a grievous want of means for their support; the lords-justices, contrary to every precedent of military prudence, had not only exhausted entirely the surrounding district by exorbitant exaction, but by burnings and ravages, ordered on the least provocation. A small reinforcement was sent over, without money or provision, to aggravate their distress, and it was more to employ the discontented troops than to check the operations of a disorderly and marauding army of 3000 rebels, which were posted at Kilsalaghan, that the earl was sent out to meet them. He was accompanied by Lambert, Coote, and other commanders, with 2500 English foot, and 300 horse. The position of the enemy was strong: a country still intersected with ditches of unusual depth, breadth, and strength of old fence, attests the description of Carte, of "a castle called Kilsalaghan, a place of very great strength, in regard of woods, and many high ditches and strong

enclosures and barricadoes there made, and other fastnesses."* The orders given to the earl were, "not only to kill and destroy the rebels, their adherents, and relievers, and to burn, waste, consume, and demolish all the places, towns, and houses, where they had been relieved and harboured, and all the corn and hay there, but also to kill and destroy all the men there inhabiting able to bear arms." It was fortunate that the power of this ignorant administration was not equal to its will; and that the sword was committed to one who was as just and merciful in the discharge of his duty as he was prompt and successful. The earl of Ormonde, with as little injury to the surrounding country as the duty in which he was engaged permitted, attacked the difficult and guarded position in which the O'Briens and MacThomases had intrenched themselves, formidable alike in their numbers, position, and the fierce undisciplined bravery of their men; and after a rough and sanguinary contest, drove them from their ditches, and scattered them in rout and confusion over the country.

The lords-justices were at this period strongly urged by the earl and others equally zealous for the termination of a state of affairs so disastrous, to permit them to march to the relief of Drogheda, at that time besieged by the army of Sir Phelim O'Neile. To this they refused their consent; but still feeling the necessity of sending away on some expedition a body of men whom they could not maintain in Dublin, they ordered an expedition towards the river Boyne, alleging the probability that a diversion might be thus created, so as to induce the rebels to raise the siege. On this occasion there seems to have been a resistance to some parts of their order, to waste, kill, and burn, on the part of the earl, who with some difficulty extorted permission to use his own more temperate discretion in the execution of this order. And shortly after, before the departure of the force under his command, he received an intimation from the castle, that the lords-justices having considered the matter, made it their earnest request that he would "stay at home, and let them send away the force now prepared, under the conduct of Sir Simon Harcourt, wherein they desired his lordship's approbation."† The earl understood the design of this artful and slighting application, and felt no disposition to suffer his office to be thus set aside for purposes so opposed to his own political principles. He was resolved not to let the cause of the king go by default, and the violence and vindictive temper of Sir W. Parsons find scope for indiscriminate and mischievous oppression, by a compliant desertion of his post. He firmly refused to let the army which the king had confided to him, march under any command but his own.

He accordingly marched on the 5th March, with such troops as could be prepared in time, and when he had reached a sufficient distance from town, put the orders of the lords-justices into a course of moderate execution, according to the more merciful terms, which on first receiving their orders he had with difficulty extorted. Instead of spreading indiscriminate destruction and massacre, which if executed according to the will of the castle would have degraded his name

* Carte.

† Ibid.

to the level of Sir Phelim O'Neile's; he wasted the villages only which had been in known concert with the rebels. Even this, it must be admitted, would according to the principles now recognized be still an excess, revolting to policy and justice; but when referred to the warfare of the age, to its opinion, practice, and to the then existing state of the country, it will appear in its own true light, as a mild and indispensable measure of severity. One remark is to be made, that such is the nature of popular insurrection, in which the struggle on the part of the insurgents is necessarily carried on by plunders, murders, and civil crimes, for which their previous habits have prepared them, rather than by military demonstrations, for which they are undisciplined; and it too often occurs that the only resource left for the protection of the social system, requires the adoption of means partaking of the same lamentable character. The spirit of insurrection rising from the lowest ranks, spreads out like a *malaria* upon the face of the country, felt not seen; tracked by fires and the bloody steps of the prowling and assassinating marauder; to the charge or battery of regular war it offers no resistance, and but too often was only to be met by the dreadful justice, which visited the homes of the offending peasantry with the retaliation which is not so much to be excused by the strictness of justice, as by the essential necessity of a resource, which has the effect of turning the torrent upon its fountain; and carrying the just, but fearful lesson, that the secrecy of the midnight crimes, or the mistlike gatherings and dispersions of these freebooting mobs, such as then assumed the much abused pretence of a national cause, though they save their bodies from the crows on some inglorious field, cannot fail to involve their homes in the ruin, which they in their ignorance and wickedness would inflict upon the unoffending and respectable classes—against whom such hostilities are ever directed.

The earl was not interrupted by the rebel parties which he had expected to meet upon his march, but ere long he received an account that the rebels had raised the siege of Drogheda, and were then in full retreat towards Ulster. It was his opinion and that of his officers that they should be pursued as far as Newry; and as a large force could be spared from Drogheda, it appeared to be a favourable occasion to disperse the insurgents by a decided system of operations, with a force which might not so easily be collected again. The possession of Ulster, once obtained, would leave the rebellion little spirit or power to proceed further. The earl wrote to the lords-justices, stating his plan, and the means of effecting it. They, it is said, were in a "terrible fume" on the receipt of his letter, and without a moment's delay returned an answer forbidding him to cross the Boyne; and reiterating their commands to waste, burn, and destroy, without any distinction of rank or consideration of merit. In the mean time the earl pursued his way to Drogheda, where he consulted with lord Moore and Sir H. Tichburne, who concurred in his opinion and joined in another letter to the lords-justices. But the plan of enterprise which they had concerted, was broken by the arrival of the letter from the lords-justices, already mentioned. The earl's indignation was strongly excited, he did not think fit to resist the orders of government, but in reply he

told them, "that there was usually such a confidence reposed in the judgment and faithfulness of those that are honoured with the command of an army, as that it is left to them when and where to prosecute and fall upon an enemy; that he took this to be due, though he was content to depart from it, because he would not confidently depend on his own judgment; that they might see lord Moore's and Sir H. Tichburne's judgment, by a letter signed by them and the rest of the chief officers, except the lord Lambert, and Sir R. Grenville, who were left in their quarters for the security thereof, and keeping the soldiers from disorder, but were as far consenting to the execution of that design, as himself who proposed it, or any of the rest who approved of, and signed the letter; that however he was applying himself to perform their last commands, and for that end had sent forth horse to destroy the dwellings of traitors for six miles about, and would quarter the night following at Balruddery, and thence continue his march to Dublin; want of bread causing him not to make use of the short enlargement of time granted in their letter of the 9th, which they could have been furnished with from Drogheda, if they had pursued their design towards Newry." He added, "that with regard to the gentlemen who came in, his method was to put them in safe keeping, and either to send them before, or to bring them along with him to Dublin, without any manner of promise or condition, but that they submit to his majesty's justice; nor did he dispute by what power they came in, leaving it to their lordships to determine that point when they had them in their hands, and he had given them an account of the manner of their coming."

The lords-justices were not to be influenced by such considerations as might appear to the earl of Ormonde of the most imperative moment, for they were governed by motives wholly different. To maintain their own authority; keep the rebellion away from the capital; and at the same time impede all proceedings which would have the effect of giving ascendancy to the friends or partisans of the royal cause, were the guiding principles of their whole conduct. They paid no regard to the strong representations or to the remonstrances of the earl and his officers, who saw in a strong light the real importance of an occasion, for pursuing and extinguishing the insurrection in its last retreats. According to the views of Sir W. Parsons, it was of little consequence what food for future vengeance lay collecting in the north, but it was in the last degree important, that their own hands should be strengthened in Dublin, and the surrounding country by the immediate presence of those troops which the zeal of the earl would have directed to more important purposes. Thus then, the communications here mentioned and others which followed, with a laudable pertinacity were set aside, and the earl was compelled to return. He was only allowed to leave a small reinforcement of 500 men, with lord Moore and Sir H. Tichburne. The whole of this tortuous proceeding is the more worthy of the reader's attention, as it is plainly indicative of the real policy of the puritans, not only in Ireland but in England. The attention of historians of our own time, has been singularly misdirected by the propensity of the human mind to look to results, and to form their judgments of men either from the remote consequences of their actions,

or from principles subsequently developed. We, for our part, cordially concur in approving the fortunate and providential results of the great revolution which began in the reign of the unfortunate Charles: but we attribute all these advantages to the providence which overrules the wickedness of men to good events. It is not here permitted us to enter at length into the analysis by which it would be easy to separate the high professions, and the low conduct of a revolution begun, and consummated by the perpetration of every political crime; and to prove by the plainest tests that the motives of the *responsible* actors, were not merely different from the sounding eloquence of their pretensions, but far more reprehensible than the abuses which they overthrew. There were, no doubt, on either side, a few exalted characters who adopted with sincerity the purest principles of which their several positions admitted; but, upon the whole, the contest was a struggle for unconstitutional power on either side, in which fortunately for England neither party was successful, and both, as the strife advanced, endeavoured *per fas et nefas*, to attain the advantage. The conduct of both may be seen in some respects more clearly by looking to Ireland, the field in which their policy was pursued with least disguise. If the parliament of England was then enabled to dazzle the understandings of their own and after times by impressive commonplaces and specious complaints, and to veil their most unprincipled course in the fair disguise of public spirit and piety; it is plainly to be discerned that they were most recklessly indifferent as to the means. The virtue may be doubted of those zealots, who propose to raise the condition of their country by murders, massacres, and confiscations, which may effect the purpose pretended, but offer far nearer advantages to the perpetrators. The politician who is ready to purchase remote and abstract improvement at the expense of torrents of blood, and by the commission of present wrongs, must be either a fanatic, or is indifferent to the real benefits he pretends to seek. There is no real human virtue which would serve the unborn, at the expense of the living. But the understanding and passions of England were to be conciliated, by the leaders of that fanatic and intriguing corporation, the regicide house of commons: in the eye of England they endeavoured with the common discretion of all who play the game of revolutionary intrigue, to adorn and veil their purposes with the ordinary cant of civil justice and virtue, the lofty apothegms which cajole the multitude and spread a lying sanction over dishonesty, and impart a spurious elevation to baseness: but in their contempt of Ireland and Irish opinion, the whole truth of their policy was suffered to appear and to leave a record for the cool judgment of aftertimes; Ireland was a by-scene on which they crossed the stage without a mask. To prolong for their purposes a fearful conflict of crime and every evil passion, which the mind of Milton could combine for his description of the infernal habitations:

“Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell.”

such was their manifest policy. But we are treading upon dangerous ground; so much has been latterly written, and ably written, to magnify this party and depress their opponents, that the writer who takes an

opposite view, must be prepared to enter upon a full and minute detail of the entire history of the period.

The lords-justices, at the period of our narrative, appear to have entertained but one solicitude which is not quite explicable; a vindictive eagerness to visit with the utmost severity in their power the parties remotely suspected of any connexion with the rebellion, which they evinced no anxiety to check. To waste, plunder and kill, was the entire substance of their orders to the earl, whose activity to encounter the rebels they impeded. Their vengeance was confined to the territories of the pale, where it was rather directed against the inhabitants than the rebels; and their conduct appeared equally unaccountable on the score of common prudence, for they were unable to maintain the troops which they endeavoured to retain about Dublin in a shameful state of destitution.

On the return of the earl of Ormonde, the rebels at once returned and took possession of Drogheda, Atherdee, and Dundalk. The gallant achievements of Moore and Tichburne, by which they were defeated with comparatively small forces, in several bloody sieges and encounters occurred in this interval, and have been already related in these pages. We have also taken several occasions to relate the impolitic and unjust treatment received at the same time by lord Dunsany, and other noblemen of the pale, when they came in on the faith of the king's proclamation, to offer their adherence to the government in Dublin. Their rejection forms a consistent part of the case against that government, of which we have here but faintly sketched the outline. This case is strongly aggravated by the iniquitous indictments which at the same time disgrace the courts, and the still more revolting proceedings of the castle, where the rack was freely employed, for the purpose of involving the whole of the Irish nobility and gentry in one sweeping charge of treason and rebellion. These demonstrations may be sufficient *ex abundantia*, to fix the real policy of the castle, and to class these flagitious officials, among the lowest of those enemies of the people of Ireland, whose aim it has been to promote insurrection for the service of a small political intrigue. We reserve some special proofs, as we shall be compelled in a subsequent memoir to revert to this topic. These circumstances and this grievous state of affairs at length roused the anxious attention of the king, who very justly considered that his personal presence would be the most likely means to offer some decided check to this tissue of disorder and misconduct. Such a step might probably have been attended with the best results: his coming over would at once have brought to his side, every particle of right reason, prudence, or loyalty in the kingdom, and at this period there must still have been a preponderance in favour of his cause. For the Roman catholic clergy had not yet fully entered into the contest; the insurgents had already experienced its danger and folly, and the numerous and respectable body whose part in it had been involuntary, would all, on their own several grounds, have rallied round the standard which would have united them in one cause and feeling. The lords-justices and all their little junto of extortioners, pettifoggers and executioners, would have been set aside.

But a result so inimical to the views of the great and powerful

party by which the king was opposed in England, was not to be quietly effected without resistance. On the 8th April, 1642, the king, by a message to the two houses, communicated his intention, with the obvious reasons which require no detail. In this message he proposed to "raise by his commission in the county of Chester a guard for his own person (when he should come into Ireland,) of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which should be armed at Chester from his magazine at Hull."* To this the lords-justices remonstrated, on the grounds of the great power of the rebels, the weakness of the government force, the inadequacy of the means for the support of his majesty's army and court. The parliament urged their pretended solicitude for the personal safety of his majesty: with more sincerity they intimated the encouragement the rebels might derive from the assumption of his countenance: they contradicted the remonstrance of their own officers, the lords-justices, by observing that his presence was rendered unnecessary by the late successes against the rebels, and ended by throwing aside pretexts, and fairly declaring their desire to have the war left to their own management; and their intention "to govern the kingdom by the advice of parliament for his majesty and for his posterity." To this the distressing position of the king's affairs compelled him to submit.

In the mean time, the English parliament concluded a treaty, highly favourable to the system of policy they were pursuing, with their own party in Scotland, by which, without suffering the hazard of their policy, they contrived to arrange with their allies the Scottish commissioners in London for the occupation of the north of Ireland by a body of ten thousand Scottish soldiers. Such was the origin of the armament under Monroe, who landed at Carrickfergus about the middle of April, while the communications just adverted to between the king and parliament were pending. The conduct of Monroe we have already commented upon: it was in precise accordance with the policy here attributed to the parliamentary party, and there can be no ground for hesitation in identifying them. Monroe occupied an influential and central position in Ulster, but only acted so far as appeared necessary for the security of a commanding neutrality; seizing on the king's partisans when they fell into his power; or attacking the rebels when they appeared to endanger his own security. Along with his own force, and under his command, were joined such forces as were subject to the authority of the parliament in that province, making altogether an army sufficiently formidable if commanded to any purpose.

The earl was during these events mainly confined to Dublin a reluctant witness of counsels to which he could little consent, yet had no power to resist. Under these circumstances his conduct was discreet and cautious. It is one of the prominent traits indeed of the character of this great man, that while his conduct was always firm and strenuous, his manner and his professions of opinion were marked by prudent moderation. Where it was vain to resist by actions, and where nothing was to be expected from remonstrance, he quietly

* Husband's Collection, quoted by Carte.

yielded to circumstances, and contented himself with watching for occasions, which, when they presented themselves, were never suffered to pass, though often to the sacrifice of the nearest personal considerations. Of this an instance finds its place here. In the end of March, the lords-justices resolved on sending out a large detachment for their favourite purpose of wasting and burning the lands and tenements of rebels who had left their homes in Kildare. On this expedition the earl of Ormonde received orders to march. The earl, who was always averse from such a task, saw nevertheless an occasion for exploits of a more worthy and honourable kind. He marched out and commenced a series of able and effective operations, which the lords-justices presently attempted to interrupt. The earl's countess and his family, with an hundred protestants who had found refuge at his house in Carrick-on-Suir, had just arrived safe in Dublin, and the lords-justices sent to acquaint him of the event, with permission to join them: the earl declined the insidious offer and pursued his march. He advanced to Kilkullen, Athy, Stradbally and Maryborough, as he went detaching parties to the relief of the principal castles and forts in the rebels' possession, and securing the country on every side. It was upon this march that the distinguished conduct of Sir C. Coote, who was detached to the relief of Birr, occurred* in the woods of Mountrath.

As the earl was on his return to Dublin, after the full execution of these important services, he was checked near Athy by a strong rebel force under lord Mountgarret, who had under his command the chief rebel leaders with 8000 infantry and several troops of horse. The incident was indeed alarming; for, at this period of the march, the forces of the earl were exhausted, their horses out of serviceable condition, their ammunition spent in supplying the garrisons which they had relieved, and the whole force trifling in numerical comparison with the enemy, which seemed to menace inevitable destruction.

The earl, attended by Sir T. Lucas, took a party of 200 horse, and marched out to reconnoitre, after which he called a council, in which the above circumstances were taken into account, together with the advantageous position of the enemy. It was agreed on to march towards Dublin, and not to attack them, unless they should themselves be tempted to begin, a highly probable event, which would have the effect of altering their position, and placing them in circumstances more favourable for an effective assault. In pursuance of this plan, the earl, with 2500 men, pursued the march to Dublin. In front he detached Cornet Pollard with a party of thirty horse to spread out among the numerous bushes which then covered the road sides, and facilitated those ambushes which were the prevalent danger of Irish war. Next followed Sir T. Lucas with six troops of horse. The baggage of the army filled the intervals: after which came the earl himself leading a troop of volunteers, among whom were lord Dillon, lord Brabazon, and other distinguished persons. Four "divisions" of foot, came next, not much like the divisions of modern war, amounting each to three hundred men, and followed by the artillery: after these four other divisions of foot, and

* Vol. II., Life of Sir C. Coote.

then three troops of horse, headed by Sir C. Willoughby; the rear was closed by a few companies of foot led by Sir C. Coote.

They had scarcely gone a mile, when, about three miles off on the other side of a red bog, the long files of glittering pikes appeared in dense order, passing rapidly by the tower of Killika, with the evident design of intercepting them on their march. It must, under these circumstances, have been concluded by the earl, that he was not likely to pass without a battle. His dispositions were prompt and decisive; he caused his pioneers to clear a road on the right, and thus enabled the foot to disengage themselves from the baggage. He sent out Cornet Magrath with thirty horse to observe the rebels' march. He easily inferred that their design was to seize on the pass of Ballysonan, through which his march lay. Not being encumbered by baggage, the rebels marched much faster than the English. But they had a considerable circuit to take, and the earl, anticipating their purpose from their speed, sent on Lucas to seize the pass, with some troops of horse—a movement which may, in some degree, have been favoured by the accident of not having been seen by the rebels, as at this part of the way a hill intervened between the armies. They were thus obscured from each other for about two miles.

The detachment under Lucas was successful, and when the rebels came within view of the pass, they were surprised and mortified to find it in the possession of their enemies. They halted upon the hill side. In the mean time the earl came up: he caused the baggage to be drawn into the rear, and sent to hasten the march of Coote and Grenville.

The rebels were partly seen, as they stood half-way up the hill and facing the pass. They were marshalled with considerable skill, and presented an imposing appearance with their close array and their numerous ensigns waving on the breeze. The earl drew up the four divisions of foot which were on the ground, in order of battle, within "two musquet shot" of them, and marked the places into which the remaining divisions were to fall as they came up. These divisions, or rather companies, hurried forward, and as they were small bodies, were quickly in their places. The earl, without further delay, commanded the whole line to move forward against the enemy, and they advanced at a rapid pace up the hill. They had not gone far before they met with a check, the consequence of which ought to have been fatal, had there been on the enemy's part the skill or promptitude to take advantage of such an incident: their forward movement was interrupted by a hollow which had concealed a hedge until their line was stopped by it, and they were compelled to take a considerable circuit, after which they formed again on the other side within musket shot of the rebels, who should unquestionably have attacked them during this awkward movement. But the courage of undisciplined soldiers, when not excited by action, is always apt to be chilled at the appearance of an enemy's advance. Their leaders could, in all probability, have no authority sufficient to move a body of men, who, though resolved to fight, were waiting to be roused by blows. With this infatuation the rebels stood their ground, and suffered a considerable number of the English to regain their order of assault, and draw up again just beneath them,

without any interruption. This was indeed in some measure, aided by the skill of the earl, who contrived to amuse their attention by a continual fire of cannon and musketry, and also, by sending forward several small skirmishing parties; and, while this was going on, Sir T. Lucas, who occupied the right wing of the English, fortunately discovered a wide gap in the hedge, and passed through with three troops of horse. Without a second's delay they charged at a round trot into the left of the rebels, who had manifestly looked on their movements with a wavering resolution. The moment the English horse reached them, they gave way without a blow; and as the infantry at the same time came rushing up the hill, the disorder ran along their line, and immediately the entire of the left wing, with their officers, were hurrying on in a tumultuous and panic-stricken disorder, down towards the red bog. Their horse stood for a few minutes longer, but were charged by Sir C. Grenville at the head of his troop, and followed the fugitives. The right of the Irish were commanded by Mountgarret in person, and comprised the more select companies under Moore, Byrne, and other principal officers: these men looked calmly on the rout of their companions and kept their ground; on these the hope of the rebel chiefs had been fixed. The earl of Ormonde seeing this, advanced in person against them with his volunteers, and three hundred infantry, led by Sir John Sherlock. They maintained their reputation, by standing during the exchange of some volleys, and when the earl began to advance, they retreated in order before him till they reached the top of the hill; there they caught a sight of the bog and their flying companions, and breaking into utter confusion, rushed in wild disorder down the hill. The number of their slain was seven hundred, among whom were numbered several colonels and other officers. The earl lost twenty men. A detailed account of the fight was transmitted by the Irish government to the house of commons, in which it was read, and afterwards published by their order. In this account the earl is mentioned as "ordering the battle and manner of fight in all the parts of it, and doing it with very great judgment, laying hold quickly and seasonably on all opportunities of advantage that could be gained, and sparing not resolutely to expose his own person to hazard equally with any other commander." The earl, not being allowed the means to follow up this success, returned immediately after to Dublin.

On the May following the synod of the Romish clergy was held in Kilkenny, and those formal acts took place which established the confederate assembly, and gave another form to the rebellion. The history of these events we have introduced in our memoir of the rebel leader Owen O'Neill, with whose arrival in Ireland this change was coincident. In that memoir may be found, sufficient extracts from their acts and resolutions, and something of a brief internal view of their designs and composition. We must here be compelled to view them occasionally and at a greater distance, receding in the mass of circumstances.

The lords-justices during this time were hurried on into inconsistencies of conduct, of the motives of which, were it worth a lengthened investigation for so trifling a purpose, it would be hard to give any

very precise explanation. But it may be generally observed that their position was beginning to be a little more intelligible to themselves, as their difficulties increased; and that thus while maintaining the same system of policy in subservience to their puritan masters, they were from time to time alarmed by incidents which made them apprehensive for themselves and doubtful of the safety of carrying much further the inconsistent plan of irritating and insulting, without taking any step for effectual coercion. They had pursued this course from the commencement of the rebellion, scattering vengeance with unsparing and indiscriminate fury, and driving the peaceful and unwilling into rebellion; while with equal constancy they restrained the hands of the earl and his officers, from meeting the enemy as they should alone have been met, in the field. Until at last, about the time at which we are arrived, the resources which might but a few months sooner have terminated the war, became exhausted, while the army, in want of every necessary, and unpaid the balance due to them, became insubordinate and refused to march. The parliament of England saw with indifference a state of things favourable to their own purposes; the zeal which they affected was but specious and supplied an ample source for slanders against the king. But it was otherwise with Parsons—he with his colleague in office, was compelled to endure the inconveniences and dangers of such a course. His very safety might depend upon the balance of parties, of whom the majority of those, even on his own side, disapproved of all his proceedings. Thus though willing to paralyze the arms of the earl of Ormonde and of the loyalists, he was anxiously alive to the danger of being left without an army on which he could reckon.

Thus while the officers immediately under the influence of the lords-justices, and who acted in the spirit of their instructions were rousing the towns and cities of Connaught into a second outbreak, by the most wanton and insolent outrages; the lords-justices were petitioning for aids in men and money to the parliament, and striving to force their crippled, starved, naked, and mutinous soldiers to march on their petty expeditions. In this state of things, the rebels were again growing formidable in the western counties. They had been restrained by the spirit, activity, and prudence of the earl of Clanricarde, but the able and judicious combination of force and moderation by which this nobleman induced the most turbulent spirits to submission, was frustrated by the intolerable tyranny of a few parliamentary officers, whose savage and unprovoked brutalities excited a general alarm and resentment. Clanricarde himself was reproved for accepting of submissions; his protection violated, his own people, and even an officer who served under him seized and imprisoned. Lord Ranelagh, then president of Connaught, and the earl of Clanricarde remonstrated strongly against these proceedings, and their representations were strenuously supported in council by the earl of Ormonde. The consequences were not slow to appear in a general and rapid growth of dissatisfaction through the counties of Mayo and Galway, while the rebels were completely masters of the field in Sligo and Roscommon.

In this most alarming condition of affairs, the Irish administration was roused to some show of opposition, and a considerable effort was agreed upon in the council. The earl of Ormonde was ordered to

march with 4500 infantry and 600 horse, for the purpose of re-inforcing the lord-president. Leaving Dublin for this purpose on June 14th, on a service which from the state of the country at the time, was considered to require his ability and prudence, the earl proceeded on this march. On the way he took the castle of Knocklinch by storm, and gave the rout to a strong party of rebels, who posted themselves to dispute his way in the pass of Ballinacor. Lord Netterville fled at his approach, leaving his castle which he had fortified and burning his town. Sir James Dillon, who had besieged Athlone for six months, retired before him. The lord-president who was shut up there without the means of defence, was thus set at liberty to meet the earl and to receive command of the reinforcement intended for him. The earl of Ormonde marched back to Dublin.

During his absence, the lords-justices had been proceeding in that most insidious and pernicious course of measures, by which they were at the same time working to transfer the king's authority, already reduced to a mere form, to their masters the rebel parliament of England, and swelling the ranks of their enemies, by the most unmeasured and unprovoked acts of tyranny. Had their power been levelled directly against the hierarchy and priesthood of the church of Rome, it would be an easy task to vindicate their policy; however we may feel inclined on the score of conscience to acquit that able and consistent body for their steady hostility to the church and government, which they were bound to regard as heretical, there can be little doubt of the reciprocal obligations of those who were by ties of no less force bound to the defence of these institutions. But there was neither wisdom, sound expediency or justice, in the unmerited severities which had the effect of rousing the pride, resentment, and fear of the Roman catholic laity; of driving them into the precincts of a powerful and dangerous hostility, and thenceforth converting religious persuasion into an influential element of political division. These wretched and incapable tools of a grasping and usurping fanaticism, had not the power to calculate the full consequences of arousing the action of one of an opposite character, far more longbreathed and vital, because founded upon principles more removed from impulse and enthusiasm. They could not observe, (or reason upon the observation,) how little influence their creeds have upon the main conduct of most men, until they become embodied in the tangible element of party feeling, when the basest felon who is ready to bid defiance to every sacred obligation, will fight to the death for his altar, because it is his party. It is indeed a matter of nicety to mark the line of moderation and firmness; but we are inclined to think that the laity of the Roman church, would never have been thus embodied into a religious party, by a line of firm and decisive control, directed against the then visibly dangerous influences of the Roman see. They saw the real state of things, and their predilections were all on the side of the crown and constitution of England. They had with a wise and politic moderation, been satisfied to see their church subsist under restraints by connivances, which were the mild but effective outwork against inroads, of which they knew the danger. They were peaceful, submissive, and always prompt to assert their loyalty. But by the policy now adopted it was no longer a matter of individual con-

duct, feeling or opinion; a line of conduct conveying disqualification and prescription beyond the letter of the law, spread terror, discontent and indignation through every rank. The most loyal and influential persons of most counties, were first by an order and then by a bill-excluded from the parliament, which was then called, and by such a comprehensive insult and injury sifted into a lesser counterpart of the English commons. The alarm and offence were, as ever happens with unpopular measures, still more injurious than the acts; the Roman catholics were terrified with apprehensions of utter extirpation, and it is little likely that such fears were allowed to fall unimproved to the ground. To add to these mischiefs, it was a most flagitious and scandalous part of the system of proceedings at this time adopted, to drive out of Dublin resident gentry of the Roman catholic persuasion, into the arms of those among whom they could only find safety by enlisting in their ranks. That such was the direct design of the lords-justices is indeed the inference of Carte, and upon no slight grounds; he reasons from their letters to the parliament of England, and a variety of circumstances, that being fearful of committing the injustice of a more direct attack on the liberty and property of the Roman catholics, they proceeded to effect their purpose by means which were calculated to work by terror and anger. Among these the principal was an urgent and oft repeated application for permission to bring the penal statutes, which were in fact nothing more than a precautionary provision against dangers always possible, into full and active operation: a step equally precipitate and cruel: whatever were their intentions, the purpose of kindling a universal discontent was effected.

Among the most effective of their opponents, the earl of Ormonde was foremost. His great ability is indeed strongly illustrated by the mere fact of his being enabled to stand his ground and hold a very influential authority under a system of usurpation so grasping, lawless and intriguing. His wisdom, honesty and courage were more than equal to the little official cunning of Parsons; but he was unsupported, and his authority was undermined, by powers against which he was altogether unprovided with any means of resistance: he was even tied down by those very laws, which his opponents only regarded as instruments to be used and thrown aside. His movements against the rebels were overruled; his attempts to moderate the councils of government slighted; his efforts to protect the innocent baffled and counteracted. His private fortune was chiefly in the hands of the rebels, and his pay as the king's lieutenant-general was withheld. The difficulties with which he had to strive were great beyond the possibility of any ordinary stretch of apprehension. In his command he was thwarted and crossed by the earl of Leicester, at this time lord-lieutenant of Ireland, but living in England, from which he sent his orders at the prescription of parliament, which had thus the disposal of every thing. And thus even the army under the earl of Ormonde's nominal command was officered by his enemies, the creatures and servants of the parliament, so far as this change could be brought about by filling the vacancies as they fell. To this injustice the earl was compelled to submit, for though the inconvenience of which it was productive was quickly and severely felt, and though on the earl's application, the king

gave his express warrant empowering him to appoint his officers; yet such was the difficulty of the king's position, and the necessity of conciliating his powerful enemies, that it was thought wise to keep this warrant secret for a time; a most unwise course and evidently tending to cause future misunderstandings, if the earl should in any way have recourse to what would thus seem to be an unwarranted assumption of authority. And such indeed was the actual consequence when on the death of Sir C. Coote, the earl appointed lord Dillon to his command. The earl of Leicester was violently offended; while the earl of Ormonde was placed in an embarrassing situation, and both parties were impelled to maintain their assumed right, by complaints and angry representations. The earl of Ormonde on this occasion felt himself obliged to assert his right and support lord Dillon, whose claims on the score of public service and private friendship were such as to make it both unjust and embarrassing to insult him by withdrawing his appointment. Another instance of the same nature occurred on the appointment of Sir Philip Perceval, and on this occasion the language of the earl of Leicester, seems strangely inconsistent with the fact that he really took no concern in the duties of his office, and that, unless for the purpose of embarrassing the king and the actual administration of Ireland, he took no part in the affairs of a country which he did not even think fit to visit. The assertion that "the lieutenant-general had not given him so much as the respect due to a private colonel, who in most places have the naming of their own officers," involves a singular confusion of ideas, as it precisely describes the injustice which the earl sustained from his lordship's interference, and has very much the tone of the wolf accusing the lamb in one of *Æsop's* fables. Yet this absurd resentment of lord Leicester was genuine; so great was his wrath on this occasion, that he would not write to the earl, but sent over to his own son lord Lisle, a commission for another to fill the command given to Perceval. The inconvenience of this proceeding was no less apparent than the injustice was glaring, and Perceval himself had probably some interest in the castle, for the council interfered in his behalf. The earl sent over Sir Patrick Wemyss, when the earl of Leicester met him before the king at York, and had the effrontery to justify his own conduct, and to hazard a declaration that no one should be admitted to any command without the consent of parliament. The king felt himself compelled to support his own servant, and from the house of Sir Thomas Leigh, where he was then residing, he wrote to the Irish lords-justices and council "that it was by his own special command and authority under his hand, that the earl of Ormonde had, in the absence of the lord-lieutenant, conferred upon divers persons several places in the army; that he had given him this authority to encourage the soldiers to exert themselves with greater readiness and vigour, in obeying and executing his commands in the important services wherein they were employed against the rebels there; for which it was necessary that the commander in chief should have a power to prefer them, and that it was his will and command, that all such persons as had been already, or should hereafter be so preferred by the said lieutenant-

general of the army, in the absence of the lord-lieutenant, should be continued in places and commands."*

The resolution of the king on this occasion was become necessary. The commissions of the earl of Ormonde, were still subject to be rendered of little avail if the lord-lieutenant should think proper to visit Ireland in person. Of these commissions the first was terminable on such an event, and the second placed his authority entirely under the discretion of the lord-lieutenant; there is also much reason to think that such is the course which would have been adopted for the mere purpose of setting aside one whose known principles were not to be reconciled with the parliamentary policy of keeping Ireland disturbed to weaken the king; the castle of Dublin was even got ready for the reception of the earl of Leicester. But this part of the design was rendered null, by a new commission to the earl of Ormonde appointing him to hold his command directly from the king and independently of any other authority; he was also at the same time advanced to the dignity of marquess. These arrangements had an immediate and salutary effect, and very much tended to counteract the efforts then made to engage the army in Ireland to declare for parliament. For this purpose, among other means of a less ostensible character, a draught of a declaration to be signed by the officers of the army was prepared, and submitted to the marquess of Ormonde, who objected to its main averments ascribing the success of the government in keeping down the rebellion, to the counsels of the administration, and praying in the king's name for a compliance with his parliament. The marquess produced an amended draught, removing these objectionable points, and changing the last mentioned prayer into a form, "that the parliament by its timely compliance with the king, would save the nation," the declaration in consequence fell to the ground.

The military events of this interval, composing chiefly the history of the year 1642, have been already related. The battle of Liscarrol was won by the earl of Inchiquin. The various battles and other incidents which marked this period of the rebellion in the counties of the west and south, are not such as to need repetition. Owen O'Neile's arrival in July, and the confederacy in Kilkenny are fully detailed in the memoir of this leader. We have also had occasion to mention the use which the king's enemies in England made of these incidents to embarrass him more deeply and to increase their own strength, by levies of men and money under the cover of an Irish expedition. As the rupture between the king and parliament rapidly approached its full maturity, the lords-justices encroached with more boldness, decision and success, on the authority of every adherent of the king in Ireland; and the marquess found himself involved in deeper difficulties. The absolute exhaustion of all resources of a public or private nature, reduced him to the painful position of looking on during the entire mismanagement of affairs which were nominally under his charge. His own debts were accumulated to a great amount, and his property had become unproductive. In the same year he was attacked by a violent fever, which brought him

* Carte.

to the brink of the grave, and he had not well recovered when the marchioness and lord Thurles were seized with an illness of the most alarming nature. During his illness the marquess dictated a letter to Sir Philip Perceval, addressed to the king, a part of which will give the reader a lively idea of the condition of things at that time:—He represented the condition of his own estate, which he said “was torn and rent from him by the fury of the rebellion, and nothing left to support his wife and children whilst the rebellion should last, but his majesty’s great goodness, which had never failed him, and which he besought his majesty to extend towards them, by making some honourable provision for them, till his own estate might be so settled as thereout they might receive convenient maintenance. He added, that his estate was at present in such circumstances, that if his majesty did not in his abundant goodness think of some course, how his debts (as great part whereof had been contracted and drawn upon him in his majesty’s service) might be thereafter satisfied, his house and posterity must of necessity sink under the weight thereof, since they were many and great, and the interest growing thereupon would in a short time exceed the debts. As an help towards the payment thereof, or at least as a means to prevent their increasing, he besought his majesty to grant him, or (if he died of that sickness) to the lord Thurles, so much of the tenements and hereditaments in the city and suburbs of Kilkenny, as should accrue to his majesty by forfeiture, and owed rent or service to him or his wife; this being conceived to be in the king’s free disposal, as not being within the intent of the late act in England, which seemed to extend only to lands to be admeasured, and not to houses.”*

The lords-justices availed themselves of the illness of the marquess, to make some very influential alterations in the army. These we must pass in order to confine this memoir within reasonable limits. At this time, and during the year 1643, the efforts made to draw the army into the service of the parliament were unremitting and unconcealed: but the main sinew of all such efforts was wanting: the parliament had no desire to waste its resources on Irish ground. The army was found untractable: the soldiers had nothing more than a penurious subsistence, and the condition of the officers was deplorable indeed: they did not receive any pay, and were suffering all conceivable privations. An insidious attempt was made to bribe them with a most fallacious expectation: a book was made and sent round to the officers for subscription, in which they were to declare their free consent to take portions of the rebels’ lands, “when they should be declared to be subdued,”† in lieu of their arrears and pay. To give the more speciousness to this trick, the official persons of the Irish government subscribed; and thus, many officers were drawn in. The officers however who had subscribed, and many who had not, insisting on certain further security, soon found reason to suspect the real design, and retracted; nor could they be satisfied until the book was given up to a committee of their own body. A remonstrance which the earl of Kildare, and other principal officers in consequence drew up, will give the most authentic view of

* Carte.

† Ibid.

the real state of military affairs at that time, and no small insight into the views of every party. In their preamble they mention their having appealed in vain to the parliament for the supply of their wants, and having failed in every application, they were obliged to appeal to his sacred majesty, &c., and they then go on to state, "that as well by the act of parliament in England, as by the covenants with the lord-lieutenant, and by the promises of the lords-justices and council of Ireland, they were to have their pay made good to them as well for their carriages as themselves and their soldiers. That both officers and soldiers had faithfully answered all services that could be expected from them, not only in the frequent hazard of their lives, but also in the constant discharge of their duties. That notwithstanding the starving condition of the army, all the extremity of strictness in musters was put upon them, with an oath tendered as well to the soldiers as officers, which could not but leave upon them a character of distrust of their integrity in the cause; and yet they had no assured hopes of assistance, but rather their fears increased of having the highest severities used to them in these checks, which in an army so ill paid and oppressed with want and misery, was without precedent. That in all armies military offences, of what nature soever, had been punishable by martial law only, and no other; a privilege which they pleaded, and maintained to be inseparable to their profession. That there never had since the beginning of the service been any account made with them, so as if they should miscarry, their heirs were ignorant what to demand, which not only discouraged the officers, but disabled them to subsist and continue in the service. That with all humility they craved leave to present to the memories of the lords-justices and council, what vast sums of money had been raised and paid in England for the advancement of the service and supply of their wants in Ireland; a great part whereof had been otherwise applied, even when their necessities were most pressing, and the cause most hopeful. That when their expectations were most set upon the performance of what was justly due to them, the small pay issued out was given them in a coin, much a stranger to that wherein the parliament had paid it, and yet continued to be so, though publicly disallowed by them; by which means the officers suffered an insupportable loss, whilst others wanted not the confidence to advance their own fortunes out of their general calamities: a crime they conceived highly censurable; and if in indigent times so much strictness were needful in the army, they conceived it as necessary for the state to find out such offenders, and to measure out a punishment suitable to an offence of so high an abuse. *That their arrears, which were great, might be duly answered them in money, and not in subscriptions, which they conceived to be an hard condition for them to venture their lives on:* and likewise humbly offered it to consideration, whether they might not be thought to deserve rewards in land without other price, as well as in former rebellions in that kingdom, others had done. For these reasons, in acquittal of themselves to God, the king, the cause, the country, and the state of Ireland, they had thus represented their condition, craving what their rights and necessities required for them, that they might be duly answered what was, or should be due to them in their employ-

ment according to their capitulation, their services being justly esteemed. Musters without oath, unless duly paid; checks according to the articles of war; their offences limited to the proper judicatory, their own oppressors found out, and punished exemplarily, with satisfaction to those they had wronged; that their pay might be converted only to the use the act of parliament had prescribed; their accounts speedily made up according to their several musters; their arrears secured, and due provision to be made for the subsistence of officers and soldiers. All this they desired might be answered otherwise than by verbal expressions, and that their lordships would speedily make it appear that there was a real care taken for their subsistence; or otherwise, by receiving so small hope of further assistance from the parliament (of England) their lordships would leave them to themselves, to take such course as should best suit to the glory of God, the honour of the king, and their own urgent necessities."

This remonstrance was entrusted to the care of the marquess, who communicated it to the council. The lords-justices were anxious to appease the army, and equally unwilling to forward their petition to the king. They suppressed the paper, but made an attempt, at the same time ineffective and oppressive, to levy a small sum for the relief of the officers. The marquess when he ascertained their design of withholding the petition, himself enclosed it to the king.

At this time an anxious effort was made by the nobles of the rebel party, and seconded as anxiously by the king's friends, to effect a pacification. The lords-justices opposed the proceedings adopted for this purpose by every method in their power: among other courses adopted for this end, none was so likely to be successful as the promotion of active hostilities: a course indeed otherwise rendered necessary by the active operations of an enemy which moved unresisted in every direction. The presence also of an army which they found no means to pay, and could ill restrain, was not very convenient, and it was on every ground desirable to send them out of town on some expedition where they might be more useful and less troublesome. With this view, the army was ordered out to take possession of Ross and Wexford, under the command of lord Lisle; this expedition had already been strongly urged by the marquess, but deferred by the lords-justices for the expected arrival of the lord-lieutenant. The marquess now came forward and declared his intention to command the troops in person, and the declaration was a shock to the council. They had subscribed to facilitate their object, but on this disappointment, they were strongly urged by the parliament committee, who governed all their conduct, and in fact, presided over the Irish council, to withhold the money. With this intention the council passed a vote, declaring that "the intended expedition should be left wholly to the lieutenant-general and the council of war, notwithstanding any former debate or resolution taken by the board concerning the same."*

On March 2d, 1648, the marquess left town with 2500 foot, and 500 horse. After taking Castle Martin, Kildare and other castles cu

* Carte.

the way, they proceeded by easy marches toward Ross, where he arrived on the 12th, and erected his battery before the walls.

The garrison was inconsiderable, but the rebel army lay in great force in the vicinity, and during the night 1500 men were added to their strength.

The marquess anxiously awaited the vessel which the council had agreed to send after him with bread and ammunition, but of this the motives of their party policy served to retard the execution. Under various pretences it was deferred until the wind became unfavourable, and the marquess, after seeing his troops suffer severely, was compelled to send for supplies to Duncannon fort, from which the governor, lord Esmond, forwarded to him all the bread and ammunition he could spare: with these he also sent his own bark, and another vessel mounting a small gun, which for a time gave much trouble to the garrison, but a battery was planted against it, and as the wind and tide were unfavourable to escape, the crews were compelled to leave their vessels and make the best of their way to the marquess.

Unable to wait any longer for supplies of which he must have had slight expectation, the marquess opened his fire, and a practicable breach was soon effected. He commanded an assault; but the garrison were in fact as strong as their assailants, and these were retarded by wool-packs and other obstacles under the cover of which they were repulsed with some loss. The position of the marquess was become perplexing enough, his whole stock of food amounted to four biscuits a man, and at this moment general Preston hung upon his rear with 6000 foot, and 650 horse. The marquess called a council, and after considering all circumstances, resolved to face Preston, and take the alternative of a battle, or a retreat towards Dublin. On his advance, Preston retired towards a strong line of wood and bog, and was joined by the body of men which he had thrown into Ross. The marquess took his ground for the night on a large heath within two miles of Ross, and within sight of the rebel quarters. On the next morning early, he observed that they were in motion, and conjecturing from their movements that they intended an attack, he rode up to Sir H. Willoughby the serjeant-major-general, and gave orders for the disposition of his little army. The soldiers of the marquess were drawn up in battle array on the slope of a rising ground, with the six pieces of artillery between the divisions. Between the two armies there lay a low swell of the ground just sufficient to conceal the infantry from each other. To the top of this both generals sent out small parties, which returned without coming to blows. After closely inspecting the ground, the marquess gave orders to Willoughby to advance the men to the top of the hill, as they would thereby gain the advantage of the sun and wind. Willoughby obeyed his orders, but a mistake was committed by the lieutenant of the ordnance who neglected to bring forward the guns. While this error was repaired, the enemy's horse collected for an attack in a broad lane between two high ditches: two regiments were advanced to oppose them, and drawn up against the entrance of the lane, and as this for a short time had the expected effect of checking their intended movement, the two culverins were in the interval brought up and planted to advantage, so as to bear into the mouth of

the lane: when this was completed, the two regiments were commanded to open to the right and left, very much in the style of Milton's rebel host, who probably took a hint from the battle of Ross, which was fought perhaps before the composition of his poem: the reader may recollect the manœuvre in *Paradise lost*,* which we should here quote, but that thirty lines of verse would be an unsuitable interruption in the middle of a fight. As the English infantry unfolded their front "to right and left," the culverins discharged their contents upon the rebel cavalry with such effect, that eighty men were killed at one fire: they were thrown into a panic, and with cries of dismay and terror, rushed out of the lane into the next field. The cannon of the marquess were that day worked by Sir T. Esmond's seamen, who maintained their fire with unusual skill and effect, by which means the disorder of the enemy's cavalry was kept up; the marquess sent orders to his cavalry, commanded by lord Lucas and lord Lisle, to charge them. This charge was rendered in some degree difficult by the hot cannonade which the English sailors kept up, and the entrance into the park was obstructed by a formidable ditch. The gallant officers nevertheless promptly obeyed their lieutenant-general's command, and rode up to the ditch in a style not unworthy of Melton, where the ditches are not often as formidable, and the steeds much better. Lucas had the misfortune to be thrown with his horse, and before he could rise, was severely wounded in the head. Lisle's horse was so severely wounded that he was forced to mount another: a confused and desultory skirmish which was rather individual than collective, ensued: and thus the two bodies continued for a long time mixed together, and fighting man to man. During this time the marquess was in great uneasiness about his horse, as the confusion of the combatants was so great. He now decided to cross the ditch and to attack the main body, which as yet stood inert under the fire of the battery which had played on their ranks from the commencement of the cavalry's charge. He caused a strong party of the musqueteers to fire a few volleys upon them while he led his men across the ditch; and when they had come within a convenient distance, the word was passed to charge, and setting up a loud cheer, the English rushed forward against the enemy. The enemy did not await the collision; but turning about, fled in great confusion over the bog. The flight continued until they reached a hill on the other side where they had quartered the night previous. Here they attempted a stand, but on four regiments moving forward to attack them, they turned again and continued their flight until they had the Bannow between them and danger. Preston then ordered the bridge to be broken behind them: his loss amounted to five hundred men, with all his ammunition and baggage: among the slain were many persons of rank. The marquess lost twenty men. His victory was complete, but the conduct of his cavalry gave rise to mysterious doubts and suspicions: as the result of their charge was both unusual and difficult to be accounted for on any supposition, but that they were privately, under some influence, engaged to counteract the operations of the marquess. They were in point of number, nearly equal to the rebels, who, in addition

* *Paradise Lost*, book VI. 558.

to the state of confusion and flight in which they were assailed, were extremely inferior in all respects, both in men, horses, arms and discipline; nor could it on any reasonable ground, drawn from previous experience, be imagined that they could continue for a few minutes to exchange blows with their opponents, without being routed with much loss: such had, till then, been the uniform result, and mostly under circumstances less favourable to the English. On the flight of Preston's foot, his cavalry were allowed to march off without further molestation, to the great vexation of the marquess, who clearly saw that some sinister influence had accompanied him to the field, and paralyzed one of his most effective arms, so as very much to impair the value of his victory. Preston had indeed committed an oversight, in a very high degree advantageous to the earl's subsequent movements: as it was imperatively necessary that he should lead back his men, destitute as he was of all means of subsisting them or keeping the field. He must otherwise speedily have become involved in difficulties, which would place him at the mercy of a force like Preston's, overwhelming in numbers, and amply provided with every munition of war. Had Owen O'Neile been in the place of Preston, he would undoubtedly have pursued a far different course; instead of the unpardonable mistake of a battle, he would have watched with Fabian caution the movements of an exhausted enemy who had neither food nor ammunition for more than the effort of an hour: he would have hung upon his retreat, which could not have been postponed another day, and pursued his daily diminishing numbers and exhausted force into the defiles and dangerous passes of sixty miles of most difficult march; and before half of its difficulties were overcome, he would have burst upon his exhausted and broken troops at some unfavourable moment, and with twenty men to one, have rendered even a struggle hopeless. Instead of this, Preston, having rashly ventured the fight, with the precipitance of fear, overlooked the real condition of the conquerors, and to prevent a pursuit which was not to be expected, by breaking down the bridge over the Bannow he cut off his only prospect of success, and secured the retreat of the marquess. By this ill-conceived step of his enemy, the marquess was left unmolested by a foe, to pursue his difficult and distressing march over a road nearly impervious to his artillery and baggage; and which presented difficulties formidable to his officers and men. In the mean time, the distress of the lords-justices was fast increasing: they were become so destitute of all means of support for the small garrison retained in Dublin, that at last they were compelled to quarter them upon the inhabitants who were themselves in a condition not much better. The suffering in consequence rose to a considerable height, and the fear much greater; for while the citizens were deserting their homes, under the apprehension of approaching destitution, it was known that the marquess, with his famishing army, were on their approach to the city. To ward off this severe emergency, some means were taken by the government, but ere they could in any way be effective, the marquess arrived. The effect was deplorable; to have the slightest hope of maintaining the army thus unseasonably increased, they were not only forced to expel all strangers, amounting to many thousand English; but were compelled to make a second inroad upon the merchants' stores, which

deprived them of all their remaining commodities, and was insufficient to remedy the evil.

We shall not here need to dwell on the treaties and commissions which commenced about this time between the king's commissioners and the confederates. We have already in several memoirs, had occasion to notice them as fully as their intrinsic importance demands. The reader is probably aware of the general view which we have taken of the conduct and designs of the two main parties thus opposed to each other. The popular party and their opponents are at this time little to be recognized in their real and peculiar characters, from the overwhelming agency of a party and of a policy, wholly distinct from either: and of which it was the present object to keep up the contention between them. This fact is here the more essential to our purpose to notice: because in strongly animadverting on the line of conduct observed by this middle party, the parliamentary rebels of England, it has been difficult to preserve with any tolerable distinctness the just line between the actual parties of Irish growth; a difficulty much increased by the complication which existed in the composition of the popular party. There were the mob, under the control of their spiritual guides, who acted solely with the view of obtaining the ascendancy of their church: they were mainly headed by a class of adventurers, who while they were subservient to those, had purposes entirely peculiar to themselves. Another great party who acted with these, but under the influence of far other motives, were the Roman catholic nobility and gentry, who were driven to arms by the wrongs and insults they had received from a government, equally cruel, unjust, and insolent to all, and acting under the authority of the rebel parliament of England. It was unfortunate, and led to much added bitterness, and has left prejudices not yet abated, that this confusion of objects and interests was not at the time sufficiently understood or allowed for. The Roman catholic lords, by confusing their own cause with that of the clergy, rendered redress difficult, and gave a tone of injustice and extravagance to their complaints, by demands which were embodied in most of their state papers, and which we believe to have been very far from their real objects: and thus it occurred that their real, just and constitutional complaints, were not very unreasonably classed with the pernicious and exorbitant demands with which they were thus embodied. Far worse at the time than these, was the animosity pervading the minds of the mass on either side, always incapable of just distinctions, and never correctly informed: to all of these, one impression distorted by a million fears and rumours, refracted into every monstrous uncouth and unholy shape through the universal atmosphere of terror that had fallen upon the country, presented itself to the apprehension: it was the combined effect of the worst crimes committed by fanatics, plunderers, or oppressors, in each of the many parties and political sects which on either side were confused together. The most moderate of the rebels were involved in the massacres committed by the banditti of O'Neile and his plundering confraternity: while the most humane, loyal and temperate of the protestants were not free from the odium of the parliamentary puritans, who had an equal disregard for both. To these reflections we shall here only add, that having attentively per-

used the documents of a public nature in which the representations of each of these parties is set forth, we should be reluctant wholly to subscribe to any one of them. But generally speaking, the real objects of the aristocracy on both sides only required to be sifted from demands that were not sincere, and reproaches which were not just, to bring them to a perfect agreement.

It is to the immortal honour of the marquess of Ormonde, to have stood clear from the crimes and prejudices of both parties, and to have been trusted and honoured by the wise and good of all; an honour more conspicuous, because of all the great public men of his day, it can be claimed by himself and the earl of Clanricarde alone. While he beat the rebels in the field of battle and resisted the lords-justices in council, he was at the same time anxiously watching for every occasion to bring about that peace which was so desirable to all, on the most just and equitable basis. The confederates forwarded their remonstrance, already quoted in this volume, to the king, who sent to the marquess, observing strongly the impossibility of complying with some of the petitions it contained. He was equally unfavourable to a letter which he received from the lords-justices and council. The terms proposed by either party were indeed sufficiently extreme, to leave room for ample modifications between; if the Roman catholic lords would alter the entire existing constitution of Irish laws and government in favour of their own party, the lords-justices were as importunate in their remonstrances against any peace with the rebels, unless on the terms of a universal forfeiture of the estates of all who had taken arms, without any distinction of persons or circumstances. The marquess of Ormonde, disapproving of the misrepresentations by which they were endeavouring to mislead, and at the same time harass and distress the king, sent over private messengers to rectify these mischievous and delusory statements. This expedient had been indeed prevented for some time, as the lords-justices in their displeasure at the result of a former communication to the king by means of which the marquess was vested with new powers, endeavoured to remove the future recurrence of such an inconvenience, by an order in council, that, "the lieutenant-general of the army should licence no commander, officer, or soldier of the army to depart out of the kingdom upon any pretence whatever, without the allowance of the board first had obtained, &c."* The order had been easily passed in council, where for many months there was no attendance of any but the most obsequious of the lords-justices' own creatures, as the intrusion of the committee of the English parliament who were allowed to sit in the council and govern all its proceedings, had the effect of disgusting and deterring every respectable person of any authority or independence. Hearing this, the king sent over an express prohibition against this irregularity, so inconsistent with his own authority where it was as yet least impaired. The Irish council which had not yet arrived at the point of direct defiance of the royal authority, was compelled to yield in a case where it had acted with manifest illegality; and the parliamentary officers were excluded. Of this the immediate consequence was the

* Carte.

return of the seceding members, who being most of them favourable to the king, the order above cited was revoked, and the marquess was thus enabled to communicate with the king. He was joined by several members of the council in a letter, stating the distress of the army, the great difficulties to which they had been reduced by the want of money, the miserable exhaustion of the kingdom, and the dangerous consequences to be speedily apprehended in case they should be left in the same condition any longer, and praying for his majesty's directions how they were to act under the circumstances.* This letter was sent by Sir P. Wemyss. In the mean time the marquess had much to do, to prevent all his officers from throwing up their commissions and returning to England. They had long borne the absolute privations to which they were subjected by the want of their pay, as evils not to be remedied; but their resentment was excited by petty attempts to defraud them in the small instalments, which the government were seldom able to pay. They sent in a petition to the Irish parliament, full of strong and true complaints, both of the misapplication of the remittances made for their support, and of the imposition effected by means of a light coin; and desiring their lordships "to call Mr vice-treasurer, his ministers, and all others employed about the receipts and disbursements aforesaid, to a present strict account of all moneys sent out of England and issued here since October 23d, 1641, and also to take notice of other of his majesty's rights misapplied to private uses; and out of the estates of the persons offending, to enforce a present satisfaction, that may in some measure relieve the distressed army which now groans under the burden of these wrongs, and extreme wants; and further to take into your considerations the necessities of the said officers and soldiers, which if there may not be subsistence for them in this kingdom, your lordships cannot but know, will consequently enforce them to quit the same, and abandon this service."†

The lords-justices met the embarrassment which the discussion of this petition would have occasioned, by the prorogation of parliament, just as it was entering upon the consideration of the subject. The parliament desired to have the prorogation suspended, which was refused; they next desired to be informed of the reasons for the prorogation; to this an answer was also refused. The lords therefore ordered a letter to be written by the lord-chancellor to be laid before the king, and directed the draught of this to be first submitted to the marquess of Ormonde, the lord Roscommon, and lord Lambart, in order that they might see that a full statement was made of their endeavours to discuss the petition, their reasons, their sense of the state of the army and the necessity of some immediate interposition for their relief. But in reality the king had no means to remedy the evil; and the English parliament no will. The lords-justices who, with all their acquiescence in the policy of the English commons, had begun to fear the full extent to which that policy would be carried, or the full effects which might recoil on their own government, were at this moment in the deepest perplexity. They had paralyzed the military operations of the marquess, until it was too late; they had roused all parties into a union to resist

* Carte I. p. 414.

† Carte.

them. They now saw themselves in the midst of a disturbed and irritated country, without men, money or food. In this condition they, too, made the most earnest appeals to the parliament in letters, which gave the most appalling and heart-rending pictures of the ruinous condition of Dublin, and of the abject condition of helplessness to which they were reduced. They also vindicated their own conduct, by one of those partial statements of facts so familiar to all who know the common arts of faction: omitting their own previous errors, which were the entire cause of all the existing evils, they exhibited the true facts of their unavailing and not very laudable efforts to retard the ruin they had blindly drawn down, by turning it upon the merchants and citizens of Dublin, whom, in good set terms they acknowledge themselves to have plundered freely and unreservedly, for the support of the government. The parliament of England which had gone on amusing them, and urging them on their purblind courses with high promises which were never kept, now saw that their purpose was gained for the present, and turned a deaf ear to all their complaints. The application here mentioned was the last official act of Parsons. The king who had repeatedly been irritated by his conduct and felt all through that he was betraying him to his implacable and bitter enemies, was at last made aware of acts of more unequivocal treachery, of which he had hitherto been kept in ignorance. He had not been acquainted with the fact that Sir W. Parsons, in all his official acts had looked solely to the authority of the parliament, with which he kept up a direct, constant and confidential communication, while his communications with his majesty were but formal and for the most part partial and illusory; being in fact framed on the suggestion of the commons, and to forward their aims. On receiving certain intimations of this fact, the king without further delay, ordered a commission to be made out appointing Sir H. Tichburne in his place.

It was under the general state of affairs here related, that the king began very clearly to see that it was full time to put an end to a war which could not be maintained, and which must terminate in the ruin of every party. He therefore sent to the marquess of Ormonde a commission to conclude a cessation with the rebels. The preamble of this commission is a correct statement of the question, as between himself and his enemies. "Since his two houses of parliament (to whose care at their instance he had left it to provide for the support of the army in Ireland, and the relief of his good subjects there,) had so long failed his expectation, whereby his said army and subjects were reduced to great extremities; he had thought good for their preservation, to resume the care of them himself; and that he might the better understand as well the state of that kingdom as the cause of the insurrection, he had thought fit to command and authorise the marquess of Ormonde lieutenant-general of his army there, with all secrecy and convenient expedition, to treat with his subjects in arms, and agree with them for a present cessation of arms for one year, in a beneficial manner as his wisdom and good affection for his majesty should conceive to be most for his honour and service; and as through the want of a full information of the true state of the army and condition of the country, he could not himself fix a judgment in the case, so as to be able to

prescribe the particulars thereof, he referred the same entirely to the lieutenant-general, promising to ratify whatsoever he upon such treaty should conclude and subscribe with his own hand in that business.*

This step was indeed anxiously looked for by all whose passions were not strongly engaged in this ruinous conflict. The provinces were harassed by desultory but destructive war between leaders, who on either side maintained themselves by resources destructive to the country. The new government endeavoured in vain to restore the trade which the old one had destroyed. A proclamation informed the trading part of the community that they might expect to be paid for their goods; but there were little goods to be had from a wasted and impoverished land, and on these an excise amounting to half the value, amounted to a species of partnership not much to the encouragement of trade.

We have already had occasion† to give some account of the negotiations for the cessation, and to advert as fully as we consider desirable, to the conduct of the several parties while it was carried on with much interruption, and many difficulties. It may be enough here summarily to mention, that it was mainly rendered difficult by the unwillingness of two great sections of the rebel party, who threw every obstacle in the way of any conclusion between the government and the rebels, short of the entire concession of their own several objects; these were the ecclesiastical party, who were under the control of the Roman cabinet, and of whom the majority either from inclination or compulsion entered into its policy; and the old Irish chiefs, of whom Owen O'Neill was now the leader, whose object was the recovery of certain supposed rights, and the resumption of their ancient state and authority. In consequence of these divisions, it so happened that while one party was engaged in treaty, another was actively pursuing hostilities, and many of the principal battles which we have had to notice, took place while the confederates were actually engaged in negotiation with the marquess, and other noblemen who co-operated with him for the purpose of restoring peace to the country. Much delay also arose from the effect of the successes of those who were continuing the war, which caused the confederates to raise their demands and assume a tone of insolence not to be submitted to in prudence. The marquess in his turn was reluctant to allow the enemy to gain advantages unresisted, and was occasionally compelled to defer the treaty for the purpose of defeating manœuvres, which the rebels were assiduous in practising under every pretence. The difficulties which arose in the council, were not less than those among the confederacy; entirely overlooking the utter prostration of their own military force and the increased armies of the rebels, and mainly engaged in a miserable attempt to induce the English commons, by the most absurd misrepresentations, to some active effort to carry on the war, they wasted the time in opposition, and were met on the part of the marquess by demands for means to carry on the war: he asked for soldiers and money, and silenced their reasons without conquering their obstinacy. And thus the first commission for a treaty, sent over in April, came to nothing.

* Carte.

† Life of Owen O'Neill.

On August 31st, another commission was sent over; and the commissioners on the part of the confederates met the marquess with more moderate demands, insomuch that the only obstacle which prevented their full agreement, arose from the difficulty of settling the quarters of the parties. During the discussion of this point, the prospect of any amicable conclusion was much endangered by the ignorant interference of the council which opposed the temporary cessation of hostilities. Notwithstanding this interruption, the parties came to an agreement by which the king was to receive £30,000 from the confederates, in money and beeves, to be paid in several instalments during that year. The treaty was signed September 15th, and publicly proclaimed through the kingdom.

The cessation now concluded was in a high degree unacceptable to the popular portion of the confederacy. It was still more so to the rebel parliament of England; a fact deserving of notice for the side light which it throws upon this period of English history, which is also a standing theme of party misrepresentation. The general view upon which the foregoing narrative has been mainly framed, as well as our particular sentiments as to the conduct and policy of this flagitious parliament, derive much valuable confirmation from an able and authoritative document from the hand of Sir Philip Perceval, who was himself appointed under the authority of that very parliament by lord Leicester, commissary-general of Ireland; and who had therefore the more intimate means of knowing the most minute particulars, both of the condition of the Irish army, with its means of subsistence and operative efficiency, and of the actual conduct of the parliament compared with their pretensions to the conduct of Irish affairs. This body was as violent in its denunciations of any overture towards peace, as it was remiss in support of the war: its members were content that every process of extirpation should destroy every sect and party, popular, aristocratic, priestly, royal and parliamentarian, provided only that a peace favourable to the king might be obstructed. And as they were as harsh, summary and absolute in vindicating their authority as they were prompt to assume the language of constitutional principle, when complaints were to be maintained against the prerogative of the crown, it became necessary for one of their own officers a man of virtue and ability to defend the conduct of himself and his colleagues in the Irish parliamentary government, for their assent to the Cessation. In Sir Philip Perceval's vindication of this measure, a plain irrefragable and uncontradicted statement of the main facts is to be found, which we have noticed directly, or taken into account in our general commentary. Sir Philip commenced by adverting to the charges against him as a consenting party to the cessation; he regretted "that it was necessary for the vindication of the truth of his injured reputation, ingenuously to offer to their honours' consideration, that nothing but want and necessity, not feigned, but imminent, real, and extreme necessity, and the exceedingly great discontents of the army, to the apparent danger of the sudden and inevitable ruin and destruction of the remnant of our nation and religion, there did or could compel his consent to the cessation." He then begins at March 23d, 1641, and by a historical series of private statements down to the end of the treaty of the cessation. he makes

good these facts, viz: that the parliament voted large supplies for the conduct of the war in Ireland; that the sums thus raised did not come to Ireland; that the Irish army was without clothes, shoes and food, in a condition of the lowest exhaustion, ill health and discontent, arising from continued and unmitigated hardships and privation, and only preserved in a languishing and wretched existence by occasional acts of robbery and piracy on the authority of government. Of this Perceval's various statements would occupy ten pages of this volume; we extract a few facts which lie within the least compass. He first mentions two large votes of £10,000 and £5000, one of which ended in a miserable remittance of £500 and the second of £200. He mentions also that the Dublin merchants were stripped of their property by the consent of the parliamentary committee, who he observes, "knew the extremity which had obliged *the state* with their privy to seize by force the goods of merchants, without paying for them." It is also made plain from several statements of the relief actually sent, that the larger proportion was supplied by Sir P. Perceval and other officers engaged in the commissariat department themselves, by incurring large debts on the faith of parliamentary promises never redeemed. On the condition of the army he mentions, that the "state" had for the six months previous to the cessation, frequently represented to the parliament of England through its committee, the "frequent mutinies of the army for want of pay, the impossibility of keeping up discipline; that divers captains being commanded to march with their soldiers, declared their disability to march, and that their soldiers would not move without money, shoes and stockings, for want of which many had marched barefooted, had bled much on the road, had been forced to be carried in cars; and others through unwholesome food, having no money to buy better, had become diseased, and died; yet no competent supplies came, and very few answers were returned."*

On the condition of the rebel armies he mentions, "the Irish all this while subsisted very well, carrying their cattle (especially their milch cows) with their armies for their relief into the field, and there at harvest cutting down the corn, burning (as their manner is), grinding, baking, and eating it in one day."

He also mentions that the confederates had three armies on foot, "well furnished with every thing" even in Leinster, while at the same time, the want in Dublin was so great, "that upon several searches made in Dublin, and the suburbs thereof, from house to house, by warrants from the state, as well by the church-wardens as by particular persons intrusted for that purpose, there could not be found fourteen days' provision for the inhabitants and the soldiers; a circumstance of great weight, considering that both the parliament ships, and the Irish privateers interrupted all commerce and importation to that port and these quarters."

Concerning the efforts made by the marquess of Ormonde and other loyalists, to remedy this grievous state of things he states, "that the marquess of Ormonde would have prosecuted the war, if £10,000, half in money and half in victual, could have been raised to have fur-

* Sir P. Perceval's Statement: Carte.

nished the officers and soldiers, and enabled them to march; and his lordship, the lords-justices, and most (if not all) of the council had entered into various bonds, some jointly, some severally, for provisions spent by the army, whilst any could be had on their security; and he heard the said marquess at several times offer in public to divers merchants and others that had formerly furnished the army, to engage himself for provisions to subsist it, as far as his engagement would be taken, or as his estate would bear, if provisions could be had thereupon, but little or nothing could be procured on any of their securities before the treaty of cessation began. The state likewise had been necessitated to seize by force goods of considerable value on ship board after they were put on board by license, all duties and customs paid, and the ships ready to sail, and to take many other hard ways to gain relief for the subsistence of the army."

We have selected a few from a multitude of parallel statements, which together represent all the effects of a continued state of civil war, kept up without any efficient means to give a decided turn to the aims of either party, but operating by a slow process of waste and exhaustion to the ruin of the kingdom. On the side of the rebels an armed mob, only qualified for plunder and living on plunder; on the side of government, a starved, unarmed and unpaid army, barely kept alive in a state of utter incapacity for any effort, by the most ruinous and unwarrantable stretches of power. And it is no less evident that this condition of affairs in Ireland, was neither more nor less than according to the well concerted policy of the leaders of the parliamentary confederacy in England, who saw the efficiency of the Irish rebellion for their main designs, to depress the king and to work out a rebellion in England. It exhausted the resources both of the king and of his party, and brought large supplies into the funds of his enemies, who contrived to raise exorbitant sums from both countries on the strength of their assumed authority to conduct the Irish war. From Ireland alone they contrived to draw nearly £300,000 by forfeitures, during the time that the Irish armies were in a state of destitution clamouring for their pay; and while they sent £500 to Ireland, they were enabled to send £100,000 to the Scots to engage them to send an army into England, and £60,000 to the Scottish army in Ulster, whose inactivity plainly makes it appear for what purpose they were maintained.*

After the cessation, the king who began more and more to perceive the full aim of his enemies, was anxious to strengthen himself against them. He sent over to the marquess of Ormonde, desiring such assistance as could be spared. And the question was raised in the king's council as to the expediency of the marquess himself coming over to take the command. But his presence in Ireland was felt indispensable; there he was the main spring of the royal cause, and the only earthly safeguard of the peaceful of any party; as moderate and equitable as he was effective and firm, he was looked to with respect and confidence even by his enemies. The cessation was but a suspension of hostilities between armed soldiers, who watched for advantages and

* Carte.

were ready to fight for their quarters. It was also considered how much it might be injurious to the king, by affording matter for reproach to his enemies, if the absence of the marquess should occasion any calamitous result to those whom his presence alone protected. A small body of Irish troops was accordingly sent over under different leaders, and it was resolved by the king to nominate the marquess to the entire management of the perplexed affairs of Ireland, with the appointment of lord-lieutenant.

In this appointment there was nothing desirable to the marquess; it was the adoption of a lost cause, glory and gain were no longer to be thought of; but on the other hand certain loss, fatigue, reproach, perplexity, and without the intervention of singular good fortune, ultimate ruin. The marquess met the occasion with the heroism of his noble spirit, and expressed his devoted willingness to the undertaking. There was a difficulty in the appointment, as the earl of Leicester was actually lord-lieutenant, and it was judged fit to have his resignation. He was applied to and gave a reluctant consent, and sent his commission to the king, who had the marquess' commission drawn up in the same form, and with the same powers; he was after many delays sworn lord-lieutenant, 21st January, 1644.

During this year the chief object of the king's friends was the levy of forces to assist him against his parliamentary enemies in England. Of the main circumstances the reader may find a sufficient account in our notice of the earl of Antrim, who was now the second time engaged to use his influence for the purpose, and succeeded in obtaining a small force for his majesty. Among the incidents connected with these armaments, we shall here only stop to mention one characteristic incident. One of the ships which the marquess of Ormonde had hired for the transport of 150 men under Sir Anthony Willoughby, was taken at sea by captain Swanly a parliamentary officer, who ordered 70 of the soldiers to be thrown into the sea, under the pretence that they were Irish.* The parliamentary ships which were not to be had while they pretended to support the king, were now in full force, employed in blockading the harbour of Dublin, and in intercepting all communication between the king and his party in that country.

During the cessation it was the main object of the marquess to preserve its continuance; his chief difficulty arose from the fears of the rebel confederacy, that their party might become weakened by the division consequent upon the advantageous offers or overtures of the government. This year was spent in negotiations, in which to those who look back with a full knowledge of after events it is likely to appear that every party committed grievous and fatal mistakes. The popular party insisted upon such terms from the king, as were not consistent with the interests of the protestant inhabitants of Ireland; they were rejected with a decision not compatible with the position of the king's affairs at the time. The marquess was desirous to be released from his embarrassing post, from the consideration that the compliances which might become essential under the circumstances were such as it would not be consistent with his honour to advise: as

* Carte.

ception had been intended in some part of the transaction; as he denied having given a power to Glamorgan to conclude the treaty, while he admitted that having sent over the earl for the purpose of raising forces, he thought it necessary to fortify him with such authority as might obtain him credit among the Irish. He wrote an apology to the marquess of Ormonde assuring him, that "he never intended Glamorgan should treat of any thing, without his approbation, much less his knowledge," a letter which, it should be observed, exonerates the marquess from all privity to such a transaction. The earl of Glamorgan was accused of high treason, arrested and imprisoned for exceeding his orders, and a scene of shuffling followed which is not worth detailing here, but which shows the nature of the whole proceeding, to be precisely that which we have described it, a scene of unworthy collusion from beginning to end. The earl of Glamorgan made such declarations as were adapted to save the credit of the king, who consoled his imprisonment with private letters of friendly approbation, and stood between him and all consequences; the marquess though offended by the whole conduct of both parties, yet when the mischief was done endeavoured to lessen the pernicious consequences, by favouring the efforts of the king to secure his weak minister from further exposure.

The parliamentary party from this began to gain ground in both countries. The confederates became divided, and the army hitherto in the main obedient to the king's officers, began to be tampered with by parliamentary agents and to be divided into factions. The solemn league and covenant was taken by Monroe and his troops, as well as by several bodies of the English forces in Ulster. And Monroe began to make more determined and earnest efforts to possess himself of the principal garrisons of Ulster. A long and intermitting negotiation of which the details are monotonous and of no historical importance, continued to be carried on between the king and the Irish confederates. As the difficulties of the royal cause increased, the confederates raised their demands, and the king showed signs of a disposition to give way, but was mainly impeded by the firmness of the marquess, who although he had freely sacrificed his fortune and faced all dangers and labours in the royal cause, never once made the slightest compromise of principle. Under these painful conditions he struggled on during a distressing and laborious period of three years, without means, or any steady or efficient aid from others, pressed by a hundred daily necessities and cruel embarrassments, zealous to save the king, rescue his own property, and restore peace, but resolute in rejecting the compromise which these interests appeared to demand;* and displaying with a striking reality not often met in the page of history, the example of a great and good man struggling with adversity.

In this desperate condition of the protestant party, the nuncio Rinucini who had confined those members of the confederate assembly who had consented to the peace, called an assembly in Kilkenny of persons more favourable to his own views. And while Owen O'Neile held the

* On the justice and wisdom of the concessions demanded, there may be room for difference of opinion. We only insist upon motives.

greater part of Leinster with an army of 8000 men, introduced the question of the proposed peace, together with the conditions on which it might be concluded. The greater part of the members were nominated by the clergy, and were completely at their disposal. Soon after they met, a paper was presented from a synod of the clergy at the same time convened by Rinuncini, containing the outline of their project for the settlement of the country. They proposed the establishment of the papal church through every part of the country, with the entire and absolute possession of all churches, benefices, and ecclesiastical offices and dignities; the repeal of every statute by which any ecclesiastical right was vested in the crown, &c., &c., amounting to the full and entire jurisdiction of all ecclesiastical concerns in Ireland. The nuncio proposed in addition, that the monasteries should be restored their lands, a proposal which the assembly rejected, as most of the members were themselves largely possessed of such lands. With a few slight modifications these proposals were passed into a vote by the clergy. The commissioners who had assented to the late peace, were severely handled, and an attempt was made to pass a vote of censure upon them; this question prolonged the debate, but the peace was itself condemned and rejected by an overwhelming majority.*

These incidents are here selected from the events of two years, in which amongst the confusion of numerous parties and the absence of all preponderating control, no progress of historical interest can be traced, further than the desolating effect consequent upon a state of disorganization so long protracted. Their present importance to the subject of this narration, is however not inconsiderable. The treaty of the marquess of Ormonde by which he delivered up the country to the parliament, has been noticed by a writer of opposite politics, as affording proof of the insincerity of his loyalty and the selfishness of the entire of his policy. The charge is indeed too absurd to be formally combatted. If ever an instance could be found of the entire abandonment of all self-interest it would be the marquess; but in this special case, the accusation has altogether proceeded from the singular oversight of not considering the whole principles of the conduct of the marquess, but in their place imputing to him the views of the writer himself, who seems to have imagined that the proposed establishment of a papal ascendancy in Ireland, must have been as indifferent to the leader of the protestant party in Ireland, as it appeared to the historian, who was either a Roman catholic himself, or as is more probable, indifferent to all creeds. Much historical injustice would be avoided by the adoption of an obvious but constantly neglected rule; that of weighing the motives of eminent public men according to the principles of their own party and profession. So long as the act is consistent with the uniform and professed principle, it is unfair, and a fallacy to ascribe other motives different from those professed; these may, it is granted, be *in themselves* unjustifiable, but this is not the question here. The marquess had indeed no choice, and acted from an absolute necessity; but waving this consideration it would be sufficient to reply to the dis-

* These particulars are stated in great detail by Carte upon the authority of the nuncio's memoirs.

ingenuous insinuations of the historians of the popular party, that he acted in precise and rigid conformity with the conduct of his entire political life. Loyal to the king, he was more loyal to the protestant party in Ireland, and when their affairs became desperate by the want of all protection, and the complete ascendancy of the nuncio's party; when the peace was rejected and a war of extermination declared, on the very principle of exacting the entire demolition of all the stays and defences of his own church; the marquess knew his duty, and chose his part. The one *last* hope for Ireland, (according to the views of the marquess,) lay in the timely interposition of the parliament of England. It did not require all the sagacity of the marquess to perceive that any other earthly prospect for his party of deliverance from entire and rapid ruin, was but nominal. The king could do nothing to save himself—the protestant power in Ireland had dilapidated in a wasting war of six long years; and all who were not engaged in the business of murder and plunder, were the helpless victims of the folly, cupidity and fanaticism of those who were. The nuncio and his party possessed the kingdom, they not only rejected the peace but made a most unwarrantable use of a treaty to attempt the seizure of the marquess himself, and were actually engaged in discussing the terms on which the kingdom was to be delivered into the hands of the pope. Connected with this consideration is a very strong argument stated by the marquess himself, in a memorial presented shortly after to the king at Hampton court; in this document of which the great length prevents us from inserting it entire, the marquess says “a third reason was, upon consideration of the interest of your majesty's crown; wherein it appeared in some clearness to us, that if the places we held for your majestie were put into the hands of the two houses of parliament, they would revert to your majestie, when either by treaty or otherwise, you would recover your rights in England; and that in all probability without expense of treasure or blood. But if they were given, or lost to the confederates, it was to us very evident, that they would never be recovered to us by treaty, your majestie's known pious resolution, and their exorbitant expectations in point of religion considered; nor by conquest, but after a long and changeable war, wherein, how far they might be assisted by any foreign prince that would believe his affairs advanced or secured, by keeping your majestie busied at home, fell likewise into consideration.” The marquess convened the protestant party and proposed to them, that he should act in conformity with the directions given by the king, in contemplation of such an occasion, “that if it were possible for the marquess to keep Dublin, and the other garrisons under the same entire obedience to his majesty, they were then in, it would be acceptable to his majesty; but if there were or should be, a necessity of giving them up to any other power, he should rather put them into the hands of the English than of the Irish.”* Such was now under the circumstances here mentioned, the decision of the marquess; it was approved by his entire party and received the full sanction of the parliament of Ireland, called together soon after. Their declaration is indeed too express and solemn to be omitted here; it is as follows:—

* Borlase. Cox.

"We the lords and commons assembled in parliament in our whole body do present ourselves before your lordship, acknowledging with great sense and feeling your lordship's singular goodness to us the protestant party, and those who have faithfully and constantly adhered unto them, who have been preserved to this day (under God) by your excellency's providence and pious care, which hath not been done without a vast expense out of your own estate, as also the hazarding of your person in great and dangerous difficulties. And when your lordship found yourself (with the strength remaining with you) to be too weak to resist an insolent, (and upon all advantages) a perfidious and bloody enemy, rather than we should perish, you have in your care transferred us to their hands, that are both able and willing to preserve us; and that, not by a bare casting us off, but complying so far with us, that you have not denied our desires of hostages, and amongst them one of your most dear sons. All which being such a free earnest of your excellency's love to our religion, nation, and both our houses, do incite us here to come unto you, with hearts filled with your love, and tongues declaring how much we are obliged unto your excellency, professing our resolutions are with all real service (to the utmost of our power) to manifest the sincerity of this our acknowledgment and affections to you, and to perpetuate to posterity the memory of your excellency's merits, and our thankfulness, we have appointed this instrument to be entered in both houses, and under the hands of both speakers to be presented to your lordship.

RI BOLTON, *Chanc.*

MAURICE EUSTACE, *Speaker."*

17^o die Martii, 1646, Intrans per
VALL SAVAGE, *Dep. Cl. Parl.*

Int. 17^o Martii, 1646, per
PHILL FORNELEY, *Cl. Dom. Com.*

The answer of the marquess to this address is remarkable for its dignified simplicity, and will be read by every unprejudiced reader as the just exposition of his sentiments.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—What you have now read and delivered hath much surprised me, and contains matter of higher obligation laid upon me by you than thus suddenly to be answered; yet I may not suffer you to depart hence without saying somewhat unto you; and first I assure you, that this acknowledgment of yours is unto me a jewel of very great value, which I shall lay up amongst my choicest treasures, it being not only a full confutation of those calumnies that have been cast upon my actions during the time that I have had the honour to serve his majesty here, but likewise an antidote against the virulency and poison of those tongues and pens, that I am well assured, will busily set on work to traduce and blast the integrity of my present proceedings for your preservation. And now, my lords and gentlemen, since this may perhaps be the last time, that I shall have the honour to speak to you from this place; and since, that next to the words of a dying man (those of one ready to banish himself from his country for the good of it) challenge credit, give me leave before God and

you, here to protest, that in all the time I have had the honour to serve the king my master, I never received any commands from him, but such as speak him a wise, pious, protestant prince; zealous of the religion he professeth, the welfare of his subjects, and industrious to promote and settle peace and tranquillity in all his kingdoms; and I shall beseech you to look no otherwise upon me, than upon a ready instrument set on to work by the king's wisdom and goodness for your preservation; wherein if I have discharged myself to his approbation and yours, it will be the greatest satisfaction and comfort, I shall take with me, wherever it shall please God to direct my steps; and now that I may dismiss you, I beseech God long, long to preserve my gracious master, and to restore peace and rest to this afflicted church and kingdom."

The inhabitants of Dublin were zealous for the conclusion of a treaty which was to place them under competent protection, and had, upon the first arrival of the commissioners in the former year, considerably embarrassed the marquess by their urgency. They were on this second treaty no less decided in the expression of their wishes. The marquess wrote therefore in the beginning of the year, (Feb. 6th, 1647,) to the parliamentary commissioners, offering to deliver up his command and garrisons to such persons as the parliament should appoint to receive them, upon the conditions which they had lately offered." The negotiation seems to have in some degree influenced the confederates at Kilkenny, who, to prevent it from being concluded, held out offers of an accommodation, but proposed terms utterly inconsistent with their ever being entertained by the marquess: they proposed a junction of force, retaining to themselves the full command of their own armies, independent of the lord-lieutenant: they insisted on full possession of the church and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the protestant quarters, together with possession of the towns and garrisons. These conditions were not however put into writing, and were rejected at once by the marquess. Soon after they made a second proposal, founded on the same basis, offering to assist the marquess against the parliament, but adding, that they should insist on the propositions lately voted in the assembly: this letter was only signed by four bishops, and four other members of the nuncio's party. The treaty with the parliament was with some delays and difficulties unnecessary to mention, carried to its conclusion.

Having discharged his duty to Ireland, by a treaty of which the principal condition was, that the protestants were to be protected in their estates and persons, as well as all recusants who had not assisted the rebels: the next consideration was the discharge of his duty to the king: with this view the marquess added some further conditions, by which he was to be empowered to take with him such leaders as should be willing to follow his fortunes, with 5000 foot and 500 horse. This was agreed to by the commissioners, and also by the lords, but afterwards rejected by a vote of the commons. On this condition the marquess had offered to relinquish £10,000 of the sum laid out by him for the garrisons, and for which he had demanded a partial reimbursement. This latter demand of the marquess has also been seized as a

matter of scandal by the party historians; and of all the base and unconscionable sacrifices of truth and common sense for the purpose of historical misrepresentation we can recollect, it is the most impudent. It was but a few weeks before the conclusion of the treaty with the parliamentary commissioners, that the marquess, who had spent every penny he could obtain in the maintenance of the garrison, was compelled to borrow so small a sum as sixty pounds to relieve the garrison at Wicklow. When he had first proposed to treat with the parliament, at the time when O'Neile and Preston had marched to Lucan on their way to Dublin, with 14,000 men, he borrowed large sums, with a promise of payment before he should quit the government: this engagement was public, the accounts were audited by Sir James Ware, they were also examined by public commissioners, who certified that the sums disbursed amounted to £13,877 13s. 4d. The same council represented to the marquess, that he was entitled to demand the much larger sums which he had previously spent on the war, together with the pay and salary due to his appointments, of which he had never received any thing; and some compensation for the large arrears of rent due on his estate, so long in the hands of the rebels. The marquess however disclaimed all merely personal considerations, and only insisted on the sums necessary for the liquidation of the public debt.

The marquess was deceived by the promises of parliament; he was compelled to leave the marchioness in Dublin, to receive and pay a sum of £3000, which was to have been paid on the spot, and for which his creditors were most clamorous. The commissioners put him off with unaccepted bills, telling him that he should not be the sufferer by their not being accepted, and asking him to trust to the faith and honour of parliament. But a considerable sum of this money was never paid. The whole treaty was marked by the hard overreaching and peremptory temper of the parliamentary party, and brought to a conclusion on the 28th September, 1647, when the marquess embarked on board of a frigate, commanded by captain Matthew Wood, and landed in Bristol a few days after.

From this he went to the king, who was then a prisoner at Hampton court, and in a strong and clear memorial stated the entire history of the previous events which had decided his own conduct: a statement yet affording the most authentic history of the facts to which it refers, and confirmed by all authoritative statements of the opposite party which were given by contemporary writers. After remaining for some months in England, the activity of the marquess in his continued efforts to repair the fallen fortunes of the king, and to reorganize his broken and scattered party, made him the subject of considerable suspicion and watchfulness to the parliament leaders. His creditors were also beginning to be more urgent, and, it was evident that this circumstance could be used by his political enemies to put him into confinement in the most ready and unquestionable way. He soon received information that a warrant had been sent out for his arrest: on receiving this intelligence he crossed the country to Hastings, and sailed for France. Having landed at Dieppe, he proceeded to Paris, and there he waited upon queen Henrietta. Among other slight

occurrences at this time, it is mentioned that when he visited the countess of Glamorgan, to whom he had formerly been a suitor before his marriage with his cousin, she resenting his supposed interference to prevent the earl of Glamorgan from being made governor of Ireland, met him with an air of offended dignity, and when, according to the fashion of the time, the marquess approached to kiss her cheek, she turned haughtily away, on which he made a respectful bow and said calmly—"really madam, this would have troubled me eighteen years ago."

The more moderate of the confederates were alarmed by the departure of the marquess from Ireland: they now for the first time began to see the tremendous oversight they had committed in their opposition to the royal party, and in their perfidious and blind hostility to his lieutenant. Among the various motives by which they had been actuated, ambition, party feeling, and religious zeal, they had omitted to perceive, that their interests were inextricably bound up in those of the king: that there was nothing between them and the irresistible power and the relentless will of the English parliament but the resistance which it had experienced or had reason to apprehend from the loyalists. These being subdued, and the parliamentary authority settled into some form of civil organization, it was to be apprehended upon no distant or difficult grounds, that a well-appointed and overpowering force would be directed to crush together the wretched hordes of marauders,—by the courtesy of history alone called armies,—which infested the country, and cowed each other. The first report of the treaty of the marquess communicated an electric sense of this to the better portion of the confederates, and many were the efforts made to detain him when it was too late. Sir R. Talbot, Beling, and Preston, endeavoured by an application through lord Digby, to prevail upon him to remain a little longer, but the time was then past. The mere report of the parliamentary troops being admitted into Dublin was enough to disperse the congregated banners of Preston and O'Neile at Lucan.

On the departure of the marquess the condition of anarchy to which the country was reduced continued to increase. The parliamentary leaders had not yet matured their plans at home, and had no leisure to turn their attention upon the affairs of Ireland: it seemed enough to occupy the government, and preserve matters from taking any turn hostile to their interests. The small means which they applied for this purpose were sufficient; without allaying the desperate confusion of the country, they infused additional division, and by various successes weakened the authority of some, and gained the alliance of others. Under these circumstances, we do not feel it necessary to go into any detail of the events which occurred in the short interval of this first absence of the marquess: the main particulars belong to other memoirs in which they have already met sufficient notice. Jones held Dublin for the parliament: his coarse and stern manners offended the citizens, who compared his reserve with the accessible and universal courtesy of the marquess, of whom it was commonly remarked, that it was more easy for the humblest citizen to reach him in his closet, than to approach Jones in the public street. O'Neile terrified all

parties in turn, and was ready to unite his arms with the highest bidder. The earl of Inchiquin, only zealous for the restoration of peace, at first adopted the obvious and probable means for this end by joining the parliamentary party; and in this, the motives by which he was actuated were identical with those of the marquess of Ormonde, who would not lower himself so far as to join the avowed enemies of the king; Preston was for peace, and considered the intervention of the marquess as the only expedient consistent with the safety of the Roman catholic nobility and gentry.

Among these parties, all moving independently of each other, and monthly changing their purposes and parties, a few more influential changes may be enumerated. Lord Inchiquin, disappointed by the slackness of the parliament in the conduct of the war, specially irritated by their breach of engagements with himself, and perhaps, (in common with many) mistaking the increasing weakness of the confederacy for the revival of the king's party, deserted them and returned to this party: while Owen O'Neile joined the parliamentary governor, and Monroe, still trying to preserve an independent posture, and leaving his intentions doubtful, was seized, and sent prisoner to London.

The desire for peace was at the same time universal to all who entertained no special expectation dependent upon the continuance of war. The confederates, with the exception of those who were immediately connected with the nuncio, were anxious to renew a treaty which all viewed as dependent upon the return of the marquess. His return was eagerly pressed by the earl of Inchiquin, who still continued to preserve his own force unbroken, and had, by the exertion of great address and courage, brought over his officers to the adoption of the same party with himself. A council, favourable to the same views, was held in Kilkenny, but menaced with a siege by O'Neile. O'Neile was compelled to retire by the combined forces of Inchiquin and Preston, of whom the first in vain tried to force him to a battle. An assembly was convened, and received with satisfaction the intelligence conveyed by Muskerrey and Browne, that the marquess of Ormonde would soon follow them from France. The same assembly declared O'Neile a traitor, and renewed their appeal to Rome against the excommunication of Rinuncini.

The language of this paper strongly shows the unpopularity of the nuncio, as it declares, "the manifold oppressions, transcendent crimes, and capital offences, which he had continually been for three years past, acting within the kingdom to the unspeakable detriment of their religion, the ruin of the nation, and the dishonour of the see of Rome," &c.*

The marquess having been strongly urged by the confederate leaders, and also by the king, queen, and prince, once more to hazard himself for the only chance which then remained for the king's life and restoration; began by a vain endeavour to obtain from the French court such means as he was informed by Inchiquin would be necessary for the purpose of putting his troops in motion; but after great exertions, he could only bring together a sum equal to about £6000. He obtained

* Carte, II. pp. 43.

a power from the queen and prince to conclude a peace, and a letter from the king, declaring himself a prisoner, and desiring the marquess to disregard any public commands from himself, until he should let him know that he was free from restraint.

Before the marquess set out on a journey so fraught with troubles and dangers, he turned out of his way to Caen to visit the marchioness, who was then settled there with his children. Taking leave of these, he pursued his way to Havre, from whence he was to embark; but on the way his life was exposed to great and imminent danger. Having reached the ferry opposite Havre, he agreed for his passage with the master of a small half-decker, laden with cyder. It was dark, when with his servant he embarked, and they had made but little way when the wind became rough and adverse, and they were in consequence all night on the water. Towards morning, the captain applied to the marquess to learn the hour;—his watch was fast, or his impatience at the delay, caused him to tell the captain an hour too late: the captain thus misled, missed his reckoning, and ran upon the flats; the vessel was split, and the marquess with some difficulty escaped in the cock-boat. He was compelled to delay at Havre for a long time to await his despatches from St Germain, which put him to a ruinous expense, and this was aggravated by another incident. The prince of Orange had sent a forty-six gun vessel to convey him to Ireland, but the captain refused to take on board the cannon and other military stores which he had purchased to a large amount, so that he was under the necessity of hiring another vessel for his stores and train of attendants. When he landed in Cork he had only thirty pistoles remaining of the sum he had received in France.

The marquess landed at Cork, 29th September 1648, and on the 6th October published a declaration of which it is necessary to extract a few lines as it both attests the consistency of the marquess, and accounts for the dislike of a section of the confederacy whose hesitation to treat with the marquess has been attributed by adverse writers to reasons less creditable to this nobleman. In his declaration the marquess mentions, that "he deems it his duty to use his endeavours to recover his majesty's rights, and observes that the protestant army in Munster, having manifested their integrity to the king's person and rights, and disclaimed all obedience to the enemies of both, was esteemed by the king as an eminent and seasonable expression of their loyalty. In testimony of such his sentiments, his majesty had commanded him to repair to that province to discharge the duty of his place: that he had resolved publicly to evince not only his approbation of that army's proceedings, but his own resolution in the same particulars: that he would employ his utmost endeavours for settling the protestant religion—for defending the king in his prerogative—for maintaining the privileges and freedom of parliament—and the liberty of his subjects. He declares he will, at the hazard of his life, oppose all rebels who shall refuse obedience to his majesty, on the terms he shall require it, and endeavour the suppression of the independents. That to prevent all distrust from former differences, he declares himself fully authorized to assure them that no distinction shall be made on any such account, but that all who engaged in the cause should be treated with

equal regard and favour: that the past should be forgot, and he would use his utmost diligence to provide for their subsistence, and do them all the good offices in his power, requiring no other return than their perseverance."

The events of the treaty which followed are to be briefly noticed, as though concluded by the marquess it was utterly without result. The ecclesiastical party earnestly protested against any thing being concluded before the return of their emissaries from Rome. The other party entered with zeal in the negotiation, and invited the marquess to his own castle of Kilkenny, in order that the proceedings might be conducted with less interruption. The marquess assented, and was received with every public demonstration of respect and zeal. He was however for a time called away by a mutiny in the army of the earl of Inchiquin, which was discontented by want of pay, and had besides a great leaning to the parliamentary party. The mutiny was suppressed with considerable exertion—the soldiers were appeased—some of the officers were imprisoned—others cashiered—and the rest submitted. Reports arrived that a fleet from the prince was soon to arrive with money and provisions, and the prince himself with the duke of York, immediately to follow; and the army was thus encouraged and appeased. The marquess returned and found matters still more ripe for a treaty, which the condition of the king now made an affair of desperate necessity. While the marquess was endeavouring to abate the violence of his opponents, and to bring down their extravagant demands, intelligence arrived which had the effect of a thunder-stroke upon the mind of every party in that negotiation. A copy of the remonstrance of the English army, demanding the trial of the king, was sent by the earl of Inchiquin to the marquess. At this dreadful intelligence the marquess gave up all consideration of every object beyond the meeting of that fearful emergency, (for such it then appeared) and only looked to saving the king by the union of Ireland in his favour, at any price. The treaty was therefore soon concluded to the entire satisfaction of the more moderate of the Roman catholic party, on the basis of the articles of 1646. These terms were indeed far from such as the marquess would have even listened to a few months before; but he now acted with the strong hope of producing a salutary reaction in favour of the king, and averting the ruin which seemed to menace both kingdoms. The marquess has been blamed for these concessions; but to his apprehension it was a choice of evils, and he chose the less, so far as human reason could go; for we have no right to assume them as interpositions of providence.

The execution of king Charles in the beginning of 1649, gave a shock to the marquess, which as he afterwards remarked, made all the troubles of his after life sit lighter upon him. The account was received with a general expression of sorrow and indignation. The marquess immediately ordered the proclamation of Charles II., and its reception was so generally favourable, that the nuncio, concluding that there would be a universal submission to the authority of the lord-lieutenant, was confirmed in the resolution which he had latterly formed, to leave the kingdom. He wrote his parting directions to Owen O'Neile and to such of the hierarchy of his communion as still

adhered to himself, to exert their most strenuous efforts to keep up the war. Owen was now the only person among the Irish who held out; but many circumstances had caused a falling off in his force, and the marquess employed Daniel O'Neile to treat with him. The commissioners of trust also sent their agents for the same purpose, but the terms which they offered, were such as to lead O'Neile to suspect that they underrated his value, and he resolved to let them see their error, and entered upon a treaty with the independents.

The king was at the Hague, when the account reached him of his father's death; he immediately confirmed the appointment of the marquess. The marquess was involved meanwhile, in many added perplexities. The commissioners of trust, who held *pro tempore* the power of levying assessments for the expense of the war, were more sedulous to fill their own coffers, than to execute their trusts. The marquess, pressed by a host of emergencies, could only command the ordinary revenue, which was insufficient for preparations which would be necessary for taking the field in the following spring. He wrote to the king strongly urging him to come over, as his presence would unite all parties, and supersede all authorities which at present embarrassed the course of his interests. The king had at the same time received invitations from Scotland. The Scottish commissioners proposed terms which could not be accepted, and were referred to his arrival in Ireland for an answer; the States entered warmly into the wishes of the Scots and pressed him in their favour. It was thought desirable to obstruct his journey to Ireland, and with this view it was suggested that the States would, if applied to, advance a sum of money for the purpose. Charles applied by a memorial and was thus diverted into procrastination of his journey, till the time when it might be of avail was spent in awaiting the fulfilment of a promise which, from the beginning was but a snare. At last, when reduced to the greatest embarrassment for want of the ordinary means of supporting his household, Charles left Holland and went to France.

The marquess was in the meantime left to the ruinous means to which he was ordinarily compelled to resort, for the purpose of raising and maintaining a force which at best was wholly inadequate to the demand of the time. By loans where he could borrow, and by freely involving himself in debts, which afterwards became the burden of many years, and which no private estate could wipe away, he made such preparations as he could, to lay siege to Dublin. On this undertaking the event of the struggle was now thought to depend; the loyalists in England stood in suspense, waiting for the result of an enterprise which was expected to be the signal for a fresh insurrection in England. The difficulties of the marquess were aggravated by the general scarcity; every kind of provision was exhausted, and the spring was more backward than usual. So late as May, he was only enabled to collect 2000 foot and 200 horse; these he sent with the earl of Castlehaven to take such places as O'Neile held in Leinster, which it would not be safe to leave in the occupation of an enemy in the rear of his march against Dublin. During this expedition it is stated that the soldiers were sometimes two or three days without food, and daily on the point of breaking up; this the marquess barely con-

trived to prevent by sending off small sums as fast as he could borrow them. In the meanwhile he was drawing together such troops as he could at Leighlin bridge; in the utmost uneasiness at being compelled to let pass an occasion so favourable for the execution of a decisive blow: Dublin, at that moment was itself reduced to a state of great extremity, and would have offered little effectual resistance, could he but advance before Jones should be further reinforced and the town supplied. The marquess in vain represented to prince Rupert that there was at the time "not ten days' provisions of bread in the place, so that if the harbour were but blocked up, the forces within it must fall to nothing immediately."* Jones had himself been neglected by his masters, who were yet kept in a state of internal ferment by the pressure throughout England of a strong re-action of popular feeling, and still more by the contest for pre-eminence which had arisen among themselves. The importance of Ireland however, appeared so considerable, that it could not under any circumstances be neglected; the hopes of the royal party had turned thither, and though the time had not arrived for a decisive blow, it was yet indispensable to occupy a precautionary position. So that before the marquess could sit down with any reasonable hope of success before the walls, the parliamentary commander was enabled to bid him defiance, and to look without apprehension upon his approach at the head of a scanty, discontented, and divided force; which he had by the first of June contrived to raise to 6000 foot and 2000 horse. To enable him to advance a step with these, he had to borrow £800 and to take up a supply of meal on credit; he thus advanced and took Kildare, Talbotstown and Castle Talbot, but at this latter place, he was again checked by the exhaustion of these supplies, and compelled to remain on the west of the Liffey, while Jones drew out as far as Johnstown to meet him.

Jones had been relieved with needful supplies of corn and money, and in a letter to Cromwell dated on the 6th of the same month, describes himself as successfully engaged in fomenting differences between Owen O'Neile and the marquess, and also as having opened an intercourse with Preston for the same purpose. This was it appears, facilitated by some discontent of Preston's who had about two months previous, received from the marquess a refusal to his application to be made master-general of the ordnance, on the death of Sir T. Lucas, who held the office. The marquess, who found it very difficult to satisfy the disorderly ambition of those who had joined him from the confederate party, gave this post to lord Taaffe, who had merited it by continued and efficient service.

It is mentioned rather doubtfully, but on grounds probable enough, that a conspiracy against the life of the marquess was at this time suspected. A report seems to have prevailed in England, that several ruffians were hired to assassinate him; this is mentioned directly in a letter from Sir E. Nicholas to the marquess himself. And a passage from one of the letters between Jones and a person of the name of Rochfort, who seems to have been his correspondent in the quarters of the marquess, appears to hint at something of the kind. "None,"

* Carte.

says he, "have been made privy to our proceedings but general Preston, his son colonel Warren, and a few other leading men so far embarked in the work, as a syllable hath not dropped from any of them. This I gather by Ormonde's being friendly invited hither to dinner on Thursday last, though he would not, (as we suppose by reason of the caution thence given him,) commit his person to us, without his guards of horse and foot; by which advertisement we missed of our last opportunity."

Such was the state of affairs, when about 14th June, a considerable reinforcement, with a supply of money amounting to £3000 collected by lord Taaffe, enabled the marquess to march to Dublin. The garrison in that city however had become stronger than his army, and was in excellent condition, so that he could not with prudence risk his strength in any decided operation, and was barely enabled to hold his position and watch for the turn of affairs, while through his officers he obtained possession of Drogheda, Dundalk, and other principal places. His hopes were, indeed, so far lowered, that instead of pressing for the arrival of the king as heretofore, he now advised his awaiting the event of the siege of Dublin, which (judging from the general tone of his letters,) he must have considered as nearly desperate at the time. The events of this interval we can only sum with the utmost brevity, and have already in various memoirs mentioned the principal of them. It was generally known that Cromwell was on the eve of embarking for Ireland, an event of which the marquess was far from appreciating the whole importance, as he observed in his letter to the king, that he feared his money more than his troops; little considering that in truth it was only comparatively speaking—that any force then on the field in Ireland, could be entitled to be considered as an army; and that any sum of money, in the then existing state of the country, could only enable him to bring a larger mob to the field.

After many inoperative movements, chiefly made with a view to form a blockade of the city, about the 3d of July it was deemed advisable to complete its investment. Lord Dillon of Costilogh was left with 2000 men and 500 horse on the north of the city, while the marquess crossed the Liffey and encamped at Rathmines: while this movement was in progress, a squadron arrived from England in the bay, carrying a reinforcement to the garrison of 2000 men, commanded by colonel Venables, with a large supply of money, and all necessaries. On this, the marquess with the advice of his council, came to a resolution to draw away their troops and retire to Drogheda, and the other principal places in the possession of his majesty's officers. The resolution was ill received by the officers and soldiers, and it was generally affirmed through the troops, that the taking of Dublin would be a matter of little difficulty, if they could first deprive the garrison of the small plot of meadow, which was the sole means of support for their horses; and this it was thought might be effected by seizing possession of a castle in the vicinity which could easily be fortified so as to resist any attack likely to be made upon it from the town. The marquess sent Preston, Purcel, and others of his general officers, to inspect the place, and on their report gave orders for its fortification, which was committed to major general Purcel with 1500

men. This party received orders to move at nightfall to the work, and when it became dark enough to conceal their operations, they set out on their way, but were misled by their guides, who were subsequently alleged to have betrayed them,* and did not arrive at the spot till an hour before day. The marquess sat up all night in the anticipation of some attempt from the town, and engaged himself in writing his despatches. At daybreak he mounted his horse and rode to the castle of Baginbun, which he did not think so strong as the report of his officers led him to expect, and was surprised to find the work scarcely begun, which by his directions was to have been completed at that hour; he also perceived several strong parties of the enemy drawn out under their own works, obviously aiming at concealment. It then became a matter of consideration, whether he should discontinue the work, but he decided upon advancing to support the working parties. He gave orders for this, at the same time assuring his officers that an attack from the town might be expected, as he thought Jones would incur any risk to prevent their possession of the castle. Having given the most express directions, and told each general the precise position he was to take, the marquess having been up all the night, returned to obtain an hour's sleep before the exertions of the day. He had not slept an hour, when he was started from his sleep by the discharge of musquetry. Arming himself quickly, he galloped out in the direction of the firing; he did not go far when he met the working party, which was the right wing of his army, coming towards him in foul disorder. Jones had marched out upon them, and they were soon broken, Sir W. Vaughan to whom the marquess had given the command in the morning, (in his displeasure against Purcell†) being killed fighting at the head of his men. A considerable number of them scattered on towards their homes in the Wicklow mountains, to which Carte observes they knew the way "too well."

The centre consisted of lord Inchiquin's infantry, commanded by colonel Giffard, with whose assistance the marquess drew them up in good order: to guard their flank he posted two regiments under colonel O'Reilly and another in an adjoining field, desiring that they should not stir until his return—he had not gone far when they were attacked, O'Reilly slain and the men routed. The troops of Jones had come out in separate parties, and been led on rather by the incidents of the attack than according to any settled plan. Of these a large body of horse had got round into the rear of the marquess's centre, and were making their way through a lane by the flank of Giffard's foot, to join a strong body of infantry which was at the same time advancing in front. The marquess commanded a discharge of musquetry, which threw them into such disorder, that their disorganization would have been complete if the flanking parties had kept their ground; but the English horse rallied and joined their party in front; and at the same time, another large body both of horse and foot, which had followed the same direction, appeared on the same fields, and drew up

* The fact was afterwards confessed in 1653.—See Carte, II. p. 79, for the particulars.

† Borlase.

in the rear of Gifford's men. The Irish became so much discouraged that it was impossible to lead them to the charge, and they showed such decided signs of breaking that the marquess saw his last resource was in the conduct of the left wing; leaping a ditch, he made his way with much difficulty, and found them also wavering, and checked by a strong body of English, so that he could not move them (as he had designed) to the relief of the centre. They were in a state bordering on flight, and the marquess saw that nothing but a decided impulse forward could prevent this result; he therefore rushed in among their ranks and with most of the officers, made every possible exertion to rally their departed courage and lead them to the charge; but they were past recovery, and the urgency of the marquess only terrified them the more, so that when he, in order to give the necessary impulse, galloped forward waving his sword toward the enemy,—as if by common consent, they turned about and commenced their flight without any pursuer. The marquess turned, and galloping among the fugitives contrived to stop some hundreds, but it was like the attempt to put a dead man on his feet, they only followed the marquess till they obtained a sight of the enemy, and turned back in a tumult of terror. The marquess did not give up till after repeated efforts of the same kind and with similar success, convinced him of the mortifying truth, that his army had no substance, and that the hope of the day was gone. He then sent a dispatch to lord Dillon, on the other side of the Liffey, giving notice of the event, and ordering the forces off to the garrisons of Drogheda and Trim, against the chance of their being (as he expected) soon attacked by Jones. The marquess was struck by a musket shot, but saved from material injury by his armour. This battle presents a singular accumulation of mischances and errors, so that on a superficial view it seems difficult to conceive the presence of any presiding discretion, in the disposition or appreciation of the means of resistance or offence. The army of the marquess assailed without method or previous design, seems to have melted off like a mist before wandering bodies of soldiers, who seem themselves to have been going astray, and who cannot be strictly said to have attacked them. The whole difficulty is greatly diminished by looking at the primary fact, that the marquess had from the commencement no intention to hazard a battle, and from a consciousness of the inadequacy of his force had determined to abandon the siege. The plan which he had actually adopted, was within the reach of an easy effort, and would have given him a considerable advantage, amounting nearly to a blockade of the city. When this, for which he adopted the ordinary means, was frustrated by the treachery of the guides, (for this seems proved,) the consequences followed; and he had not the means to evade them. The discomfiture of his army, was not to be attributed to any defect of command or disposition; it was wholly panic, and the absence of any military fitness in the composition of his troops: they were a mere mob; like all mere mobs, eager to fight; and wanting the requisite discipline, still more eager to run away.

The effect of this disaster at Rathmines caused a great and universal depression. The loss of the ordnance and arms, was a fatal stroke that could not be repaired. "Men," as Carte observes, "were much

easier to be supplied, than money to pay, or means to support them. The cities refused to lend money, and the sums which had been assessed by the commissioners of trust, not having been paid, were also now withheld. Under these circumstances, it was a last resource to come to an agreement with O'Neile; this was easy: O'Neile had been not only disappointed by the parliamentary officers who employed him, but he was sensibly mortified by the contemptuous rejection of the English commons who openly censured their officers for having recourse to so unworthy an ally. Owen was at the head of the most efficient body of native soldiers in the country, and by his aid there was a hope of still retrieving the fortune of the war. The landing of Cromwell, August 16th, 1649, put an end to this hope, and quickly altered the character of the war; he brought with him 8,000 foot, 6,000 horse, and £200,000, with considerable stores of all the materials and implements of war. The report of his arrival had been rendered doubtful by long delays: the engrossing interests of that revolution, which ended in his elevation, and the unwillingness of men to serve in Ireland where they had hitherto been allowed to starve, had protracted the existence of the miserable conflict of parties which had so long wasted the country by a lingering course of faction, fanaticism, and intrigue; the civil atmosphere was now to be cleared by a thunder-storm, such as alone could drive down and dispel the unwholesome vapours, which were inconsistent with the natural course of civil existence, and, for a season, restore this country to that uninterrupted progress, in which it has never been allowed to advance by the ordinary law of national growth.

The chief events which immediately followed Cromwell's arrival, are already noticed in this volume.* We shall now therefore pursue the subject no farther than as it immediately concerns the marquess. Being written to by the king to send him an account of the state of affairs, and to give his opinion as to the prudence of his coming to Ireland; the marquess distinctly stated in his answer, the prosperous condition of the parliamentary force, and the utter prostration of the king's; but, nevertheless, advised his coming, as a last resource in a desperate case, and as a course consistent with his honour. The king had, however, in the interval between his letter to the marquess and his receiving the answer, been listening to the proposals of the Scots, and had come to a change of purpose. The marquess, deserted by every aid on which he had placed a vain reliance, having virtually no party, and only seconded by a few gallant leaders, of whom the chief were Inchiquin, Castlehaven, and Clanricarde, continued for some months longer, to strive against the irresistible current of a new and overwhelming power. He journeyed from place to place, tried to infuse courage into the panic-stricken, and constancy into the wavering; he contrived by means ruinous to himself, to raise small sums of money, which he distributed with a free hand wherever there was a garrison or a fort still willing to hold out for the king. But the struggle was vain; deserted by the fears of the many, by the treachery of a few, and denounced by the clergy of the Roman church, who saw the triumph of their cause in the downfall of the party with which they had hither-

* Life of Lord Broghill.

to contended; but above all, counteracted by the weakness of the king; the marquess began to perceive the utter hopelessness of the contest. In the treaty concluded at Breda, between Charles and the Scottish commissioners, he gave his consent to the breach of that peace which the marquess of Ormonde had with such difficulty brought about; and by this act cut the last thread of the frail tie which gave the marquess a doubtful party in the island. The king was fully conscious of the injury thus committed, and in his letter of excuse, in which he pleads the necessity of his situation to the marquess, he advises him to take care of his own person, as the last service of importance left him to fulfil; and declares, "I shall take it very unkindly, if I find you do not withdraw yourself so timeously, as to preserve your safety for better times." Thus induced, and seeing no further object in remaining, the marquess addressed himself seriously to prepare for his departure. His last effort was an address to the commissioners of trust, in which he asserts, that his majesty's late declaration against the peace, had been enforced and that he was resolved to assert its validity, provided the "bishops would revoke all their acts and declarations against his authority, and give assurances of not attempting the like for the future. 2dly. That the commissioners of trust should declare the bishops' declaration and excommunication to be an unwarrantable usurpation upon his majesty's authority, and in them a violation of the peace; and if the bishops would not give, or observe the assurances before expressed, that they should endeavour to bring the offenders to condign punishment. 3dly. That the like declaration should be made by all magistrates and officers, civil and military. 4thly. That the lord-lieutenant should reside freely in any place he should choose, within the limits not possessed by the rebels; and 5thly, should be suffered to put garrisons according to the articles of the peace, in all places as he should judge necessary for the defence of the kingdom; wishing at last that some course might be taken for his support, in some proportion answerable to his place, yet with regard to the state of the nation, he being deprived of all his own fortunes, upon which he had wholly subsisted ever since he came into the kingdom."

To the first and main proviso of this letter, the bishops replied, that the king, by his late declaration, had cast the kingdom from his protection, and thereby withdrawn his authority; and that the last resource they had left, was a return to their old oath of association: they also declared, that they would not revoke their excommunication and declaration, nor give the pledges demanded by the marquess.

The marquess then called a general assembly at Loughrea, which met on the 15th of November, 1650. To this assembly he communicated his intention to leave Ireland, and proposed for their consideration the question as to the best means for the preservation of the kingdom. This assembly was numerous, and composed of the most respectable of the nobility and gentry, who, though bereft of all their natural influence, were themselves true to the loyal cause; the same feeling was also preserved by a considerable section of the clergy, of whom the hostile class was merely a majority; and these joined the assembly in declaring against the acts of their brethren. A desire was expressed by the assembly that the marquess should formally reply to

the declarations made by the clergy; but he refused to take any further notice of "such a collection of notorious falsehoods as were contained in that declaration," which, as his historian observes, could only impose upon the ignorant populace.

During the sitting of the assembly at Loughrea, the resolution of the marquess received further strength, by a letter written from Scotland, by the king, of which we give an extract: "The hazards," says he in his letter of that date, "and dangers, besides the trouble, I hear you do expose yourself unto on all occasions, make me entreat and command you to have a care of your person, in the preservation of which, (I would have you believe) I am so much concerned, both in my interest and affection, that I would not lose you for all I can get in Ireland. If the affairs there be in such a condition, as it will be necessary for you to quit the country and retire into France, then I do very earnestly desire and entreat you to repair to my brother, the duke of York, to advise and assist him with your counsels; upon which I have such a confidence and reliance, that I have wrote, and sent instructions to him, to be advised by you upon all occasions, and I doubt not of his cheerful and ready compliance, and that you will find all good satisfaction from him."*

The bishops also sent to hasten his departure; and, through their messengers, the bishops of Dromore and Dean Kelly, desired that he should commit the royal authority in his hands to certain nominees of their own, to whom they would give their assistance, while they were resolved to resist any others. These were Sir N. Plunket, Terence MacLoghlan, Philip O'Reily, Tirlogh O'Boile, the marquess of Clanricarde, and Dermott O'Shaughnessy. In this proposal it was perfectly understood, that the nomination of the marquess of Clanricarde was merely specious, and under the assumption that he would refuse to act with the others; it was also plainly apparent that the object of the entire selection, was to obtain through the intervention of persons wholly at their disposal, the entire command of the kingdom. Thus miserably will men fight for factious motives, in the very front of approaching perdition.

The marquess of Ormonde appointed lord Clanricarde his deputy. He sailed on the 7th December, 1650, from the bay of Galway, but was still delayed by a correspondence with the assembly at Loughrea, on the appointment of lord Clanricarde. For this purpose he landed at Glaneinagh till the 11th, when he again sailed. The vessel which conveyed him was a frigate of 28 guns, sent over for him from France by the duke of York. He carried with him the earl of Inchiquin, colonel Wogan, and about forty other officers. In the Bay of Biscay they met with a privateer, which was deterred from attacking them by the martial appearance of the company. The passage was very tempestuous, and after three weeks tossing they entered the bay of Perose, in *Bas Bretagne*. Their approach excited alarm in the harbour, and they were fired at by the ships of war, but sending out their yawl, they soon made themselves known, and passed on peacefully to the land so anxiously desired. A vessel containing some of the servants of the

* Carte.

marquess, was lost; it also contained property belonging to the king, and it is thought that the captain, for the purpose of appropriating this, turned back to England, and was cast away near Scilly.

On the departure of the marquess, the lord Clanricarde soon found the difficulties of the trust which he had undertaken. The rapid and sanguinary progress of Cromwell had been terminated by his return to England under the pressure of interests more anxious than the reduction of Ireland, and though the worst of his campaign had been in some important respects nearly decisive, yet the work was not half effected. The winter season was unfavourable to the warfare of the age and this more especially in Ireland, where the food and climate were found to disagree with the English soldiers, so much that a single campaign frequently disabled them for service; Ireton was therefore compelled to suspend his operations, and the greater part of Connaught and Munster remained untouched; and the Irish, though in no degree formidable in the field, were still far from abandoning the hope of successful hostility. There were in fact two violent parties to be subdued—the king's party now headed by the earl of Clanricarde, and the party of the clergy, who not willing to compromise the views on which they had till then been exclusively intent, were yet at least so far convinced of the real position in which they stood, that they warmly entertained the question of a treaty with the independents. They saw, for they could not but see that the balance of chances was turned in favour of the parliament, and thought it wise to seize the occasion of a doubtful pause, to make the best terms they might with the stronger side. Ireton had the address to avail himself of their known state of feeling by sending agents to the assembly, to which he represented the desperation of their affairs and proposed a treaty. The proposal was at first rejected by the influence of Clanricarde and the feeling of his party, but revived by the influence of the clergy headed by Nicholas French the titular bishop of Ferns. But the remonstrances of Clanricarde, joined by the principal of the nobility and gentry, were too well grounded in the strong facts and admissions from which their opponents had no appeal, not to be for the time decisive; and the clerical party were in their turn compelled to give way to a boldness of declaration to which they were little accustomed, and yielded to the general sense of the assembly. Thus baffled, they still persevered in their steady and systematic resistance to the whole policy of Clanricarde, and by these methods of influence and active but private concert, they rendered his efforts powerless; more alert to embody resistance, and to effect their immediate objects by means of that pervading influence which was the result of their peculiar connexion with the people, than prudent in their calculation of final results, they still toiled for an ascendancy which was passing from their grasp, through the medium of events without the circle of their contemplation; they still hoped to restore the confederacy of 1642, and did not relinquish their favourite, if not rather exclusive aim, the complete establishment of the papal power. Under this singular infatuation, a treaty opened with the duke of Lorraine in behalf of the king, was by their endeavours perverted into a proposal of a very different character, in so much that the earl of Clanricarde was compelled formally to disavow the conduct

of his own agents. This curious episode in the history of the disjointed times under our notice, cannot be here introduced in detail as it would lead to a very considerable digression from the main subject of our memoir. The duke of Lorraine had commenced a treaty with the king for a large loan: the security was not satisfactory, but in the course of the negotiation the private interests and the ambition of the duke were strongly introduced into the transaction: he had for some time been endeavouring to obtain from the court of Rome a sentence to annul his first marriage, as he had married a second wife while the first was yet alive; the Irish agents also contrived to inflame his mind with the hope of acquiring the sovereignty of Ireland. Under these motives which are fully confirmed and explained by the language of articles proposed by himself, and to be found at length in many of our historians, the duke was easily prevailed upon to lend £5000, which was laid out in arms and ammunition, which arrived in the Bay of Galway during the meeting of the assembly and had material influence upon their determinations. The duke proposed to assume the protection of the country, on the condition of being invested with the entire authority and receiving absolute submission. To these proposals the assembly lent a willing ear. Scorning all communication with the lord-deputy, the bishops declared their consent, and pronounced the proposal of the duke to be the last resource of their nation. They were desired by the Abbé de St Katharine, the duke's envoy, to sign their consent, but they recoiled from a step so decisive; they could not at once depart so widely from established precedent, or commit themselves so far. The consent of the earl of Clanricarde, would, they were aware, be demanded by their followers, though not by themselves. But Clanricarde met these proposals with uncompromising firmness, and refused to admit the Abbé to an audience of leave. The Abbé was intimidated and offered a loan of £20,000 on the security of Limerick and Galway, and proposed to refer the question of the Protectorship to the mediation of a treaty at Brussels. On this Sir N. Plunket, and Geoffry Browne, were commissioned with lord Taaffe, and authorized to treat with the duke according to such instructions as they should receive from the queen, the duke of York, and the marquess of Ormonde. But while the lord Taaffe proceeded to Paris where the marquess of Ormonde was at the time residing, other proceedings were in their progress at Brussels. Thither the bishop of Ferns, with a company of the clergy who were of his party, and several agents from the Irish cities in their interest, had arrived, and were completely possessed of the duke's ear. By these, he was persuaded that it was in their power to put him into full possession of the kingdom of Ireland. Plunket and Browne were impressed by the strong language of the bishop, and were also persuaded that it was essentially expedient to secure the money at all risks. They were easily induced to disclaim the lord-deputy's commission and in the name of the Irish nation they signed a treaty with the duke, by which he was invested with royal authority in Ireland. A petition to the pope was at the same time, drawn up by the bishop of Ferns and

* Borlase, p. 351.

signed by Plunket; Browne refused his signature, and that of Taaffe was signed for him in his absence and without his concurrence. A formal protest from lord Clanricarde reached the duke, and terminated these disgraceful transactions.

We shall not delay to describe the concurrent course of proceedings, relative to the same affair in Ireland. The Irish clergy acted in full conformity with the undertakings of their deputation in Brussels; they convened synods and made public declarations in favour of the duke of Lorraine; they prepared a sentence of excommunication against Clanricarde and their opponents, to be produced when it should be safe, and declared the revival of the original confederacy.

Ireton in the mean time was not neglectful of his post. And the military operations already related in the lives of Coote and lord Broghill took place; the lords Castlehaven and Clanricarde, with their ill-conditioned men and inadequate means, were after much strenuous but fruitless exertion of activity, courage, and skill, compelled to see the parliamentary generals gain post after post. Ireton having obtained possession of Limerick advanced to Galway, where he died of the plague and his place was efficiently filled by Ludlow, who conducted his duty with a decision and stern severity that spread universal dismay. A general treaty of submission in the name of the whole kingdom was proposed by the assembly of Leinster. In Galway, Clanricarde was prevailed on to propose a treaty of submission to Ludlow, but the time of treaty had stolen away while they had been engaged in the infatuation of intrigue, and the proposal was met by a stern denial. The tone of authority was taken up, and the litigious and brawling synods and conventions were made to understand, that henceforth they were to regard themselves not as parties to equal negotiation, but as rebels and public disturbers placed upon their trial by the authority of the commonwealth of England. These intimations were indeed disregarded by the crowd of inflamed partisans, clerical and lay, who had been accustomed only to the effects of a war of treaties, declarations, and miserable intrigues; but Preston the governor of Galway who preserved his discretion and saw the danger in its true light, gave the not unimpressive warning of retreat by making his escape by sea, and the city was actually surrendered, while the synod were planning imaginary triumphs. In the midst of this adverse concurrence of circumstances, Clanricarde preserved his dignity and firmness; and having to the very latest moment maintained the cause of which he was the official leader, he submitted to the king's commands and treated with the parliamentary leaders.

Fleetwood was appointed to the government of Ireland; and the parliament, entering seriously on the consideration of the measures necessary for its final settlement, two acts were discussed; one for the confiscation of the estates of the rebels, another for the settlement of the claims of those to whom they were to be transferred. Some were to lose two-thirds and some the whole; among the latter was expressly named the marquess of Ormonde with lord Inchiquin, Bramhal bishop of Derry, and the earl of Roscommon. But the train of events which at this time so long involved the British Isles in the chaos of political disorganization reached its end, and the condition of the country utterly

exhausted by ten years of uninterrupted disorder, was relieved by the ascendancy of a single command. The rule of the most atrocious despotism that ever disgraced a throne, is a slight evil compared with the tyranny of popular factions; but the government of Oliver Cromwell, was, considering all circumstances, just, beneficent and statesmanlike; in Ireland it was tempered by the disinterested wisdom of his son Henry Cromwell.

The marquess of Ormonde, having passed some months (with the interruption of one short visit to Paris,) with his family in Caen, was, summoned to Paris to give his counsel and assistance in the affairs of the duke of York, by which he was detained for a considerable time during the summer and autumn of 1652. The little money he had been enabled to apply to his own expences and those of his family was quite exhausted. He was compelled to board for a pistole per week in Paris and to appear on foot in the streets, which was not considered respectable among the Parisians. Under these depressing circumstances—in which the intrinsic elevation of few characters can shield them from the slight of the world, the respect of which follows the outward reflection of prosperity—the spirit, sense, and dignity of the marquess, together with his well attested political virtue and wisdom, attracted universal reverence and regard. A curious anecdote related by Carte, may serve to illustrate the free and spirited indifference to pecuniary considerations, which is a well marked feature of the marquess's character, and at the same time exemplify the manners of the aristocracy of that period. We shall extract Carte's narrative. "The marquess himself was left in no small distress in Paris; but treated on account of his qualities and virtues with great respect by the French nobility. One of these having invited him to pass some days at his house in St Germain en Laye, there happened on this occasion an adventure, the relation whereof may perhaps gratify the reader's curiosity. The marquess of Ormonde, in compliance with an inconvenient English custom, at his coming away, left with the *maitre d'Hotel* ten pistoles to be distributed among the servants. It was all the money he had, nor did he know how to get credit for more when he reached Paris. As he was upon the road ruminating on this melancholy circumstance, and contriving how to raise a small supply for present use, he was surprised at being informed by his servant, that the nobleman, at whose house he had been, was behind him, driving furiously as if desirous to overtake him. The marquess had scarcely left St Germain when the distribution of the money he had given caused a great disturbance among the servants, who, exalting their own services and attendance, complained of the *maitre d'Hotel*'s partiality. The nobleman hearing an unusual noise in his family, and upon inquiry into the matter, finding what it was, took the ten pistoles himself, and causing horses to be put to his chariot, made all the haste that was possible after the marquess of Ormonde. The marquess upon notice of his approach, got off his horse, as the other quitted his chariot, and advanced to embrace him with great affection and respect; but was strangely surprised to find a coldness in the nobleman which forbade all embraces, till he had received satisfaction on a point which had given him great offence. He asked the marquess if

he had reason to complain of any disrespect or other defect which he had met with in the too mean, but very friendly entertainment which his house afforded; and being answered by the marquess, that his treatment had been full of civility, that he had never passed so many days more agreeably in his life, and could not but wonder why the other should suspect the contrary. The nobleman then told him, 'that the leaving ten pistoles to be distributed among the servants, was treating his house as an inn, and was the greatest affront that could be offered to a man of quality; that he paid his own servants well, and had hired them to wait on his friends as well as himself; that he considered him as a stranger that might be unacquainted with the customs of France, and err through some practice deemed less dishonourable in his own country, otherwise his resentment should have prevented any expostulation; but as the case stood, after having explained the nature of the affair, he must either redress the mistake by receiving back the ten pistoles, or give him the usual satisfaction of men of honour for an avowed affront.' The marquess," adds the historian, "acknowledged his error, took back his money, and returned to Paris with less anxiety about his subsistence. The same way of thinking still prevails, though possibly not in so great a degree, as at that time, in France; but few men of quality will suffer a servant to stay a moment in their houses who receives any thing from a stranger or a visitant. They generally treat their servants (who think themselves settled, if they get into a good family) with great affection and kindness; but will not allow them in any degree or manner to depend upon any other than themselves; so that their families, however large and numerous, are more orderly and quiet, and the gentlemen are better served than in any other nation of Europe."*

The distress to which the marquess was reduced was indeed so great that it became necessary to take some decided step, for the suitable maintenance of his marchioness and children. In this emergency one obvious resource occurred, the estates which had been possessed by the marchioness in her own right, might reasonably be claimed from the justice of Cromwell, who had always expressed a great respect for the marchioness, and was also known to favour the adherents of the royal family in Ireland. It was probably under somewhat more circumstantial views of the chances attendant upon such a step, that the marchioness went over to England to solicit for a provision out of her own estates. Her claim was respectfully entertained by Cromwell, who obtained for her an order of parliament, authorising the commissioners for Irish affairs to set apart, as a provision for the marchioness and her children, the clear yearly value of £2000 a-year out of her own inheritance, together with Dunmore house near Kilkenny for her residence.†

The marquess was in the mean time not allowed to remain without occupation; being a principal party to all the exertions made in foreign courts for the king's restoration, and the entire manager of the very troublesome, laborious and difficult negotiations attendant upon the endeavour to raise an army for the king's service, among the Irish

* Carte.

† Carte, II. p. 161.

who were engaged in foreign service; his courage, address and efficient activity in every undertaking, not only made him the principal support of the king in the midst of the various emergencies of his uncertain condition of dependence upon the shifting alliance of intriguing courts; they also subjected him to extraordinary fatigues and dangers, in his efforts to serve the royal cause and the interests of the members of the royal family, who seem to have turned to him for aid in every exigency. Among many occasions illustrative of this, Carte details at considerable length the severities which were resorted to by the queen Dowager of England and the queen Regent of France, to induce the duke of Gloucester to change his religion. The young prince had been set at liberty and permitted by Cromwell to join his family in France; he had been educated in the Protestant religion, but was not long with them when all the ordinary resources of persuasion, argument, and menace, were employed to induce him to conform to the church of Rome; the young prince showed a firmness, good sense, and amiability of temper truly admirable in one of his tender age, and the last resort of personal constraint which had no effect, was succeeded by a most cruel and unnatural expulsion from the *Louvre* where he had resided with his mother. The English residents in Paris were forbidden to entertain him; and, his mother refused to see his face again; but while these proceedings were in their course, a strong apprehension was at the same time communicated to the king, lest some still more stringent course should be resorted to, and he sent the marquess from Cologne, where he then was, to attempt his extrication from so dangerous a situation, of which the consequences, should the Dowager succeed, would be so destructive to the king's interests in England. The marquess after a laborious journey arrived in Paris, and by his presence and counsel not only confirmed the resolution of the prince, but overawed and repressed the activity of the queen's party. After being turned out of doors by his mother the prince was received by lord Hatton, with whom he continued for two months, while the marquess raised money by pawning his garter and the jewel formerly presented to him by the parliament, to enable them to travel to the king. When they reached Antwerp the marquess was seized with a severe and dangerous fever which delayed their journey, so that the spring was far advanced when they reached Cologne. On this journey the marquess had a narrow escape from being drowned in the Rhine. Having gone to bathe in this river, he put his clothes in a boat under the bank, which he committed to the charge of a servant, and swam out into the stream; when he was out the servant left his charge, and the boat was taken across the river by a stranger; the incident attracted the attention of the marquess who seeing the boat in which he had left his clothes on its way, immediately turned back and crossing the stream recovered it. Having dressed himself he got into the boat and directed his course toward the side from which he came; he did not however succeed in keeping the course he would have steered, and was not only carried a great way down the river, but at last found exceeding difficulty in regaining the bank.

The marquess on his arrival at Cologne, was sent by the king to conduct the princess royal to him, and on his return attended the royal party to Frankfort, where they went to see the great fair. He

was next sent to the duke of Neuberg to solicit his mediation with the Spanish court, for its assistance in his majesty's behalf. And shortly after the cardinal Mazarin, having written a letter to Oliver Darcy, titular bishop of Dromore misrepresenting the conduct of the marquess and others who had engaged the Irish officers and soldiers in the French service, to leave it after the French government had entered into a league with Cromwell; he was replied to by the marquess in a letter very remarkable for its dignity and justice of sentiment, as well as clearness of statement: such was its force that it was at the time taken up by the cardinal's opponents, as a means of attack upon his government.* We extract the last paragraph. "And since he hath been pleased to usurp an authority to judge and condemn me, with circumstances of calumny not usually proceeding from the minister of one prince to the servant of another, I conceive he gives me just ground to put you in mind, that by his ministration, an alliance is made between France and the murtherers of a just and lawful king; and that not only without any necessity, but upon such infamous conditions as no necessity can justify: I mean the banishing out of France dispossessed princes, the grand-children to Henry the Fourth. Add to this, that his Eminence is the instrument of such an alliance, as gives countenance and support to the usurpers of the rights of kings, and the professed persecutors of Roman catholicks, and the destroyers of your nation, and to those by whom the nobility and gentry of it are massacred at home, and led into slavery, or driven to beggary abroad."

On receiving an intimation of the king's wishes from the marquess, lord Muskerry proceeded to Paris and according to the terms of his engagement in the French service, demanded a discharge for himself and his men. The cardinal with some hesitation granted a pass for himself, but refused it for the men; Muskerry went to Flanders and was followed by his regiment to a man. They were formed into a new corps, under the command of the duke of York as colonel, and Muskerry as lieutenant-colonel.

Having passed a very distressing winter at Brussels, where he was commissioned to meet Don Juan for the king, it was suggested by this commander that there should be some competent person in England to take the conduct of the loyalists, before the king of Spain could safely venture to embark his forces in the service of Charles. The accounts from England very much exaggerated the strength and determination of this party, but the Spaniard had probably received accounts more nearly approaching the truth. The marquess without hesitation volunteered on this difficult service, "proposing to go over in disguise, and to know the utmost of what could be done, and that if things were ripe for action he might be at the head of it, and if they grew successful to such a degree as might invite the great men of the kingdom, such as the marquess of Hertford, the earl of Northumberland, or others to come in, who might scruple to be commanded by him, he would resign the command and serve under them, &c."† This

* The letter is in Carte's appendix, but too long and too little to our present purpose to extract it here.

† Carte.

devoted offer was accepted with real or seeming reluctance. To cover the design and divert inquiry the absence of the marquess was prepared for by a fictitious embassy into Germany, on which having proceeded as far as Cleves with Sir R. Beling, the marquess passed into Holland where he met Daniel O'Neile, and with him took shipping for England, where he landed in January on the Essex coast. Having proceeded as far as Chelmsford he and O'Neile parted, and he went on to London. There he found Sir W. Honeywood who conducted him to a place prepared for his concealment, and sought out for him the persons he desired to meet. The marquess began most judiciously with the inferior class of persons, from whose representations he might best infer the real state of facts. His first meeting was in an upper room at an apothecary's with about eight persons, to whom he was introduced by Honeywood as "a gentleman for whom he undertook, who was going to the king, and was the fittest person who might be found to tell his majesty how all things stood." To him, therefore, he assured them, they might fully explain their minds and state what they could do. All however refused to make communications of so dangerous a nature to one of whom they knew nothing; they declared that they would await the arrival of some person of sufficient authority from his majesty. On this the marquess disclosed himself, to their great surprise and confusion; they had in fact professed beyond their means, and were little prepared to be so taken at their words. Their statements were so incoherent, and so little grounded on any facts or probabilities of a tangible nature, as to convince the marquess that there was nothing to be expected from such vague and confused boasting. He nevertheless said every thing to encourage the good affection of these persons. He next met colonel Russel, Sir R. Willis, and other noblemen and gentlemen, at one time in Bedford gardens and again in Gray's inn. These gentlemen were more distinct and less sanguine in their statements. The marquess met several who were willing to come forward with such men as they could raise, but there was no substantial plan or preparation, nor did there appear any hope of being able to effect the sole object which could be of any real or efficient importance, which was the seizure of some seaport town of adequate strength. All was scattered and uncertain, and it was apparent, that the pervading vigilance, and activity of Cromwell was such, that the conspirators against his government, could not without much danger and difficulty even venture to communicate with each other. The marquess soon received from his friend lord Broghill, an intimation that his being in England was known to Cromwell, and was under the necessity of escaping without delay. It was afterwards discovered from the correspondence found among Cromwell's papers, that he had been betrayed by one of the gentlemen, who had been presented to him as a royalist. During this visit to England, he had been subject to extraordinary fatigue, and the anxiety of increasing alarm; he was several times under the necessity of changing his quarters, and so great was the precaution required, that he never undressed at night, but lay down in his clothes, to be ready for a sudden escape.

The sum of his observations upon the prospects of the royal family amounted to this, that the spirit of the people was favourable to a

rising in favour of the king, to a degree even beyond his expectations; but such was the vigilance and activity of Cromwell, and so completely did he hold all the civil and military powers of the kingdom, that it would be vain to hope for any organized movement, unless with the aid of strong external support. If, however, the king should obtain the promised aid from Spain, the marquess advised a descent upon Yarmouth, which might be secured without a blow, before Cromwell could have time to stir. Charles was eager to put this plan into execution, and the Spanish general, Don Juan, was liberal in promises and assurances of the requisite aid; and both the king and his friends were thus kept amused with deceitful hopes during the spring of 1658. During this time, the marquess lay concealed at Paris, in as much danger, says Carte, "of the bastile there, as he had been of the Tower in London!" He had fortunately two sisters there, the countess Clancarty and lady Hamilton, at whose lodgings he found concealments more endurable than it was always his fortune to meet. While there he received orders from Charles to come to him with such speed as his safety would admit: and as he had, nearly at the same time, received intelligence that Cromwell had sent to the cardinal Mazarin to secure him, his escape was not without both difficulty and danger: and as it was not to be doubted that he would be watched for on the road to Flanders, he had no resource but to direct his flight to Italy.

Discontented with the conduct of Spain, the king at last entertained the project of going thither himself, but was dissuaded on many strong grounds by his advisers; and the cardinal De Retz, whom he consulted through the marquess, advised that he should at least postpone his design till the campaign in which the Spanish army was then engaged should be concluded. At this time the king's finances received a seasonable reinforcement by the marriage of the earl of Ossory with Emilia, daughter of Louis of Nassau, with whom he received £10,000, of which the greater part went to the royal coffer. To effect this match, which was chiefly rendered desirable to the family by the worth and attractions of the young lady who had won the young earl's heart, the marchioness was under the necessity of settling £1200 per annum out of her small estate. During the transactions which we have been here relating, the condition of the marchioness was far from happy. Separated from her lord, she was immersed in litigation and in protracted applications and suits about the lands which were assigned for her maintenance. She was first compelled to prove her right to these lands, and the rates at which they had been let in 1640, which was the standard of value by which the portion allowed by parliament was to be ascertained. After her schedule was given in and examined by a committee, and the assignment made, the lands were found short of the value at which they had been rated. On some parts the rent was exceeded by the contributions and assessments to which they were subject, and others were subject to mortgages and other incumbrances. From these and other causes, which so affected the tenure of the lands that they could not be let to advantage, the marchioness found it necessary to make a fresh application to have a more profitable settlement of these lands. She was in this successful; but in consequence of the complication of her affairs, was

necessitated to remain alone for two years in Ireland for their arrangement; and when this was effected in 1655, she went over to England for her children. There she was further afflicted by the imprisonment of her eldest son, the earl of Ossory, of whose growing reputation Cromwell was so jealous, that after giving him leave to go abroad, he suddenly changed his mind, and ordered him to the Tower. Having sent the rest of the children to Acton, she remained in London to solicit the enlargement of the earl. She addressed her petition to Cromwell in the presence of his crowded court; the Protector "hoped that she would excuse him in that respect, and told her that he had more reason to be afraid of her than of any body." The high-spirited lady marchioness, understanding him more seriously than he intended, replied without embarrassment, "that she desired no favour, and thought it strange that she, who was never concerned in any plot, and never opened her mouth against his person or government, should be represented to him as so formidable a person." "No, madam," answered Cromwell, "that is not the case; but your worth has gained you so great an influence on all the commanders of our party, and we know so well your power over the other party, that it is in your ladyship's breast to act what you please." Such civil evasions were all she could for a long time obtain; but the Protector's compliments were founded in truth, and so great was the ascendancy of the character of the marchioness, that he always treated her with a degree of deferential respect which he seldom showed to others, never refusing her an audience, though he did not like the object, and when she retired never failing to attend her to her coach. The earl of Ossory was at last set free upon his falling ill of an ague; but did not receive his discharge till the following spring, when the marchioness sent him to Holland to join his father.

The death of Cromwell brightened the hopes of the king and of his supporters; storms which afforded ample promise of change soon began to arise in England, and the continental powers contemplating the amendment of his fortunes, began to assume a more complacent tone, and to be more in earnest in their offers of aid to the king. These details we must here omit. The marquess was sent to Paris, where the king's affairs began to wear a favourable aspect, to further the advantages to be hoped for from the friendly professions of Turenne, and also to effect a reconciliation between the king and his mother, the queen-dowager Henrietta. So much activity was used on this occasion, that all was soon in readiness for a descent upon the English coast, when news of the unfortunate termination of Boothes' insurrection caused them to postpone their effort to another occasion, which none doubted would soon occur, as, by the death of Cromwell, England was left without an efficient government. The history of the intrigues and cabals of Wallingford house, and the deposition of Richard Cromwell, we have noticed in our memoir of lord Broghill.

Among the anxious proceedings of the royal party at this juncture, the only one we are here concerned to mention, is the conference between the marquess of Ormonde and the cardinal Mazarin. The

* Carte.

king had made a pressing application for an interview with the cardinal, who being yet apprehensive of the English parliament, declined such a meeting, under the pretence that it would prejudice his efforts for the king. It was then arranged that he should meet the marquess as if by accident, and confer with him upon the king's affairs. The cardinal, according to the concerted arrangement, rode out upon the 12th November, 1659, and was met by the marquess, who represented to him strongly the state of faction in England—the general disposition of the people in favour of the king—the actual engagements of many persons of leading interest—and all the strong probabilities of a restoration, if France would take the part which ought to be expected, on every just consideration to the claims of kindred or to the cause of all constitutional authority. But the cardinal's favourite object was the depression of the power of England, and arguments drawn from principles of equity or general expediency had no weight in his counsels. He continued firm to his policy, which may be here sufficiently comprehended from the single fact, that he offered to support Fleetwood with money and other aids, upon the condition of his perseverance in those courses which were adopted for the maintenance of the commonwealth against the efforts of the royalists.

But a re-action too broad and deep for the machinations of a worn-out faction, had been for some time making its progress in England, and at length began to flow in an authoritative channel. By the natural, though seemingly accidental concurrence of circumstances, which it belongs to the English historian to detail, a commander of just and sagacious understanding, who was capable of perceiving and entering with just discrimination into the feeling of the time, and the course which all circumstances render expedient, was placed at the head of the army, and from that moment all things paved the way for the restoration of the house of Stuart. While the king was yet in some uncertainty as to the conduct of Monk, he received an intimation that Sir G. Downing, lately arrived from England, desired a conference with some authorized person on the part of his majesty, and expressed a strong wish that the marquess of Ormonde might be the person. On this the marquess was sent to the Hague, when Downing, who was there as the British resident, met him secretly, and informed him of the real state of affairs in England.

The restoration immediately followed. The king was accompanied into England by the marquess of Ormonde in the end of May, 1660. After the public ceremonials attendant upon the king's arrival were over, he was sworn a member of the privy council, and made steward of the household: he was also appointed lieutenant of the county of Somerset, and high steward of Westminster, Kingston, and Bristol. He was also restored to his estates, of which part had been arbitrarily seized by king James, and the remainder by the parliament—an act of justice, which can hardly be viewed as compensation for the heavy debts contracted, and the accumulated losses of ten years' deprivation: but the marquess was superior to the considerations by which ordinary minds are wholly swayed, and was content, although not relieved from embarrassments, which accompanied him through life. More worthy of commemoration was the restoration to his office

of chancellor to the university of Dublin, and the changes made with his usual decision for the purpose of redeeming that seat of learning from the effects of parliamentary interference. Henry Cromwell, whose political conduct in Ireland exhibited discretion and political tact, had acted with less than his usual justice towards the university, into which he introduced persons wholly destitute of any pretension but those of factious politics and schismatical tenets. The marquess proceeded with caution and zeal to restore that eminent seat of knowledge to its efficient functions as the moral and intellectual light of Ireland, and as one of the great leading protestant seminaries in Europe. He had Dr Keble appointed to the provostship, and most of the fellows who had been displaced for non-compliance with the parliament reinstated in their fellowships. We shall have, hereafter, to enter in detail upon this subject.

The marchioness of Ormonde came over to England to meet her lord, and the earl of Ossory also arrived from Holland with his bride; and his whole family, after so many trying years of adversity, collected to meet the marquess in London.

The marquess had soon an opportunity, of which he availed himself, to ward off a ruinous blow from many of the best old families in Ireland. Some time before the arrival of the king, the English parliament had brought in a bill of indemnity, in which a clause was introduced, that "this act should not extend to license or restore to any person or persons (other than the earl of Ormonde and the protestants of Ireland,) any estate sold or disposed of by both or either of the houses of parliament, or any convention assuming the style or name of a parliament, or any person or persons deriving authority from them," &c., &c. Lord Aungier, however, prevailed to have this clause postponed until the marquess might be consulted. The marquess strongly and effectually opposed it, and received in return the general acknowledgment of the Irish nation; for few old families had wholly escaped the effects of parliamentary usurpation.

It would prolong this memoir, which we have been vainly endeavouring to reduce within our ordinary bounds, to a length quite inconsistent with the limits assigned to this work, were we to detail the train of circumstances connected with the state of the protestant church in Ireland, when the marquess, by the free and prompt exertion of his great influence, was the instrument to save it from destruction. These facts will find an appropriate place in the next division of this period. It may now be sufficient to state briefly that the property of the church had passed into the hands of the parliamentary ministers, or into forfeiture; while, at the same time, insidious attempts were made to mislead the king into grants and alienations, by which he would be deprived of the means of restitution. An address from the primate and eight bishops was transmitted to the marquess, who exerted himself effectually to arrest the evil, and in the course of a few years placed that respectable and useful body on a secure and permanent basis.

On the 13th February, 1661, the marquess was joined in commission with the duke of Albemarle and other lords, to determine on the claims usually advanced at coronations, preparatory to the coronation of Charles, at which ceremony, having been created duke of Ormonde

on the 30th of March, he assisted, bearing king Edward's crown before the king, in his office of high steward of England.

The restitution of the duke's estates, though apparently a liberal act of royal and national consideration for his real services, was yet far below his actual claims, had he condescended to put forward any claims upon this occasion. The estates which were restored to him were of two main classes, of which the first were those lands held by his vassals on the feudal tenure of military service, and which were legally determined by their taking arms against him in the rebellion. The second consisted of those lands which were in the hands of government or of military adventurers, who on the change of affairs had no hope of retaining them, and gave them up freely and without a murmur. He was largely indebted to the crown, under very peculiar circumstances; as the debts were incurred in the service of the crown, and had devolved to it by the forfeiture of creditors, such debts were ordered to be discharged. The duke's claim is indeed so well stated in the king's letters for putting him in possession of his estates, that we think it fit to insert the preamble here:—"It having pleased Almighty God in so wonderful a manner to restore us to our dominions and government, and thereby into a power not only of protecting our good subjects, but of repairing by degrees the great damages and losses they have undergone in the late ill times by their signal fidelity and zeal for our service, which we hold ourself obliged in honour and conscience to do, as soon and by such means as we shall be able: nobody can wonder or envy that we should, as soon as is possible, enter upon the due consideration of the very faithful, constant and eminent service performed to our father of blessed memory and ourself, upon the most abstracted considerations of honour, duty, and conscience, and without the least pause or hesitation, by our right trusty, and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor, James, marquis of Ormonde, lord steward of our household, who from the very beginning of the rebellion in Ireland, frankly engaged himself in the hardest and most difficult parts of our service, and laying aside all considerations or thought of his own particular fortune and convenience, as freely engaged that, as his person, in the prosecution and advancement of our interest; and when the power of our enemies grew so great that he was no longer able to contend with it, he withdrew himself from that our kingdom, and from that time attended our person in the parts beyond the sea, with the same constancy and alacrity, having been never from us, but always supporting our hopes and our spirits in our greatest distresses with his presence and counsel, and in many occasions and designs of importance, having been our sole counsellor and companion. And therefore we say all good men would wonder, if being restored to any ease in our own fortune, we should not make haste to give him ease in his, that is so engaged and broken for us, and which his continual and most necessary attendance about us must still keep him from attending himself with the care and diligence he might otherwise do; we knowing well besides the arrears due to him, during the time he commanded the army, and before he was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, that from the time he was by our royal father put into the supreme command of that kingdom, and during the whole

lion. Justice manifestly demanded a full consideration of their rights, and such accordingly was not formally denied; but practically, all distinctions in their favour were encumbered with difficulties of an obvious nature, and these difficulties were aggravated by the operation of prejudices against them, which were partly founded in realities too obvious not to have imposing effect, and partly in the interested hostility of their opponents. They complained of the rigour of conditions, which made it impossible for any accused papist to prove his innocence, and justly complained that the conduct which was now decided as proving their disloyalty had not been matter of choice: that the lords-justices had excluded them alike from the service or from the protection of the crown, and compelled them to reside in the quarters of the rebels, who possessed for a long time the most considerable parts of the country. The answers to this remonstrance would, if recited, only serve to show the lengths to which sophistry may be ventured in support of open injustice. Among other fallacies, the necessity of assuming the mere fact of residence as a sufficient test was asserted on the peculiarly self-destroying ground, that in most cases there could be no other test; a statement which seems to involve the abandonment of the charge. But we dwell on these facts here only because they illustrate the real tendency of rebellion to draw down a frightful amount of retributive consequences upon a people. The prejudice which it awakens at a distance, where its guilt and horrors alone can reach, without any extenuating facts, is a permanent evil, against which a moment's reflection will show there is no counteraction in the nature of things; for while the report of crime and disorder travels far and finds numerous records, quiet honesty and good conduct make no report and find no place in history; and in the din and rumour of national insurrections, all who are involved must be considered as parties engaged: and this moral necessity is in the present case much increased by the fact, that the agency of ecclesiastical intrigue, and of the motives of a religious party, must, in the apprehension of the spectator, have seemed to identify the creed itself with the cause, and the Roman Catholic laity with the corporate politics of their hierarchy.

The Irish parliament was convened to pass the declaration into an enactment. The constitution of this parliament was regulated by the actual possession of the lands: being mainly composed of adventurers who had by several means obtained large estates of which the titles were either wrongful, uncertain, or requiring confirmation, their first and main effort was to secure the advantage which they held; and in this they were successful, so far as their possessions can be regarded as liable to the danger they feared. They also made some strong but not equally successful efforts, to secure the interests of the protestant established church in Ireland against the other protestant denominations which were then striving to obtain the ascendancy. On the discussion of the king's declaration, it found cordial support from a body whose objects it favoured, and accordingly the commons were in its favour; but it excited the indignation of the lords, who saw that its effect must be the destruction of the most ancient and noblest families in the kingdom. They put forward many strong objections, and clearly exposed the manifold grievances and wrongs which such provi-

sions as it contained must have inflicted on unoffending thousands: and affirmed that the king had issued his declaration on misinformation. Among other objections, they examined the proceedings of the court of claims, which they found to be dilatory, inefficient, and corrupt; but above all, they exposed in strong colours the iniquities of the "*doubling ordinance*," a project set on foot by the parliament during the great rebellion, in order to levy money by a loan on Irish forfeitures. For this it had been enacted that every adventurer who should advance one-fourth more than his original adventure should have it doubled on account, and receive Irish lands according to his claim so increased. It was computed that by this unauthorized compact, the lands lost to the king would amount to 142,000 acres. A clause was introduced into the bill with the king's consent, that the adventurers should receive lands to the precise amount of the *actual payments* they had made. The bill was, after various delays, drawn up and transmitted to the lords-justices, who made several alterations of their own, and then sent it over to England to be finally examined and confirmed.

The struggle of parties was thus transferred to England; and, considering the history of previous events and the state of opinion there, the cause could hardly have been carried into a court less disposed to equity. The deeds of the previous rebellion had impressed England with horror and contempt: the Irish party was without support, and destitute of prudence, discretion, or money: their enemies had all of these. The adventurers, as the purchasers of Irish lands, have been technically called, had raised a large sum by subscription among themselves for the support of their claims.

In this state of affairs the Irish party had but one resource, and that in their infatuation they cast from them. The duke of Ormonde's influence, his tried love of justice, his temper, moderation, and disinterested character, all marked him as the fit advocate of those who had strong equitable claims and no friends. His advice was offered and his aid volunteered. His opinion was strongly expressed in a letter to Sir M. Eustace, who was an earnest advocate in their behalf, and is worthy of notice here:—"We are," says he, "in the heat of our debates upon the great bill; and I fear the liberty allowed the Irish to speak for themselves, will turn to their prejudice, by the unskilful use they make of it, in justifying themselves, instructing the king and council what is good for them, and recriminating of others: whereas, a modest extenuation of their crimes, an humble submission to, and imploring his majesty's grace, and a declaration of their hearty desire to live quietly and brotherly with their fellow-subjects for the future, would better have befitted the disadvantages they were under, and have prevailed more than all their eloquence. But it is long since I have given over any hope that they would do, or be advised to do what was best for them, or be persuaded that what might properly, and for their advantage be said by others, would not only change its nature coming from them, but hinder others from making use of their arguments, lest they might be suspected of communicating counsels with them; which is a reproach I will avoid almost as much as I will the guilt of being of their party."

In opposition to the advice of the duke, the Irish agents took a lofty

and arrogant tone, and threw themselves wholly on their merits. There were among them individuals whose enmity to the duke excited them to take all those means to hurt his reputation, which are ever so easily used, and so available among the multitude. His advice was imputed to his wish to sink the real merits of their cause: his well-known zeal for the protestant religion, so broadly marked in the whole conduct of his life, gave force to the base insinuation of a motive which was only worthy of the person by whom it was suggested. Instead of gratitude, the duke met insult and calumny, which wounded his feelings, though it could not affect a character which stood high above the range of such base missiles. The consequence was, that although he frequently interposed by his vote and influence, to prevent injustice, which could be prevented in no other way, he studiously avoided taking any public part in the business of the settlement. "He adhered," says Carte, "so firmly to this resolution, that I do not find he was one of any committee to which that matter was referred by the council, until after he was made lord-lieutenant; reserving himself, however, for his particular friends, and such as having adhered to the peace, applied to him for certificates of their behaviour, and for his interposition in their behalf, which he never declined, being always ready to do them all the good offices in his power, as often as occasions offered."* The Irish party were wholly unsuccessful in their most especial efforts; and, as we have said, attributing their ill success to the private influence of the duke, they sent one of their agents to remonstrate with his grace. The gentleman who was sent on this errand, conducted himself with such insolence, that he was sent to the Tower, but released on submission.†

The difficulties which arose in the inquiries which followed, and the serious obstacles which presented themselves to any effort at a satisfactory adjustment of claims, so opposite, and attended with so many perplexing considerations, led the king to the determination of sending over a lord-lieutenant. The duke of Albemarle was reluctant to become the arbiter of so many jarring interests and conflicting parties. He expressed to the king his dislike to the post, and strongly urged that the duke of Ormonde alone was competent to the execution of the desired settlement. Unfortunately for the duke, he could not shrink from an office which had upon him all the strong claims of the most peremptory obligation; and on the 6th Nov., 1661, he was declared lord-lieutenant in the council. His own sentiments on the appointment are expressed in the following extract from one of his private letters:—"You are pleased to concern yourself so much in my fortune, as to congratulate with me the addition of honour the king thought fit to place in my family, when he made me duke. The same friendship will dispose you now to condole with me for the very uneasy service he has designed to appoint for me in Ireland, as his lieutenant. In that employment, besides many other unpleasant difficulties, there are two disadvantages proper to me; one of the contending parties believing I owe them more kindness and protection than I can find myself chargeable with, and the other suspecting that

* Carte, ii. p. 236.

† Carte. Southwell.

I repeat that property is then which I am to free from. This law-
yer is then to be executed immediately, with honour and without
any delay or opportunity.

The account of this appointment gave general satisfaction in Ire-
land to all respectable persons who were not directly connected with
the government of the most violent parties. All whose desires were
confined to justice or who felt confidence in the equity of their claims,
were sensible that no use of personal feeling would interfere with the
conduct of the cause of Ormonde: an advantage then not likely to be
realized in any other person. Much of an inferior stamp would be
expected to act more decidedly from party views: and persons wholly
disinterested in Irish affairs were produced against the Irish. In
Dublin, public rejoicings followed the intelligence—the provost and
scholars expressed their joy in a latin epistle; the houses of parliament
and universities did the same by letters and addresses.

In the mean time, the discussion of the Irish settlement continued
to be carried on with increasing perplexity and acrimony before the
council. As it proceeded, it began soon to appear, that the first
design of the king's declaration could not be carried into operation, as
it was made under a false assumption, that the lands at the king's
disposal would suffice for the satisfaction of all admissible claims: but
it presently appeared, that the whole island would be insufficient, and
it became an anxious question upon whom the loss should fall. The
arguments which were advanced on either side need not be repeated
here; some of them are obvious, and some but specious. But among
these, one at least was unfortunate for the cause of the Irish party,
who were by far the more violent in their entire conduct through this
controversy; from pleas of right the parties went on to mutual accu-
sations. The Irish advocates were thus unwittingly betrayed, not
merely into offending powerful parties by whose influence the decision
might readily be governed, but in fact they thus raised topics
which every party in England was anxious and willing to forget, and
of which the very discussion was calculated to awaken uneasy appre-
hensions in the king and his friends. The horrors and atrocities of
the Irish rebellion were retorted with all the effect which their recent
impression but too well favoured; and the various communications which
had been made with the court of Rome, became also a fatal weapon.
In reply to several papers presented by the Irish committee, the com-
missioners of the Irish parliament sent in several writings of this preju-
dicial nature, and containing "instructions given by the supreme coun-
cil of Ireland, to the bishop of Ferns, and Sir Nicholas Plunket, their
agents to the court of Rome, bearing date, Jan. 18, 1667; a draught of
instructions to France and Spain, and a copy of the excommunication
published in Jamestown." These papers were, by order of the com-
mittee, presented to the king and council, and the king was so violently
incensed at their contents, that an order was entered, that "no petition
or further address be made from the Roman catholics of Ireland, as
to the bill of settlement, but that the bill for the act of settlement go
on to be engrossed without any further delay, according as is already
concluded; that Sir N. Plunket have notice given him, that his
majesty's pleasure is, that he forbear to come into his presence and

appear at court any more; and that Mr Solicitor send all the provisos allowed of by the committee to be engrossed, and that the Irish make no more addresses, and that this be signified in letters to their friends in Ireland." Thus ended the debates in behalf of the Irish; and the bill, which had by these debates been long delayed, to the great uneasiness of the parliament of Ireland, was after the settling of some further provisos finished at last, and being sent over, passed the two houses at the latter end of May.

The Irish parliament appointed Sir T. Jones, Sir Paul Davies, Sir James Ware, Sir H. Tichburne and others, to attend the lords-justices, and request of them to prepare and transmit a bill, for raising the sum of £30,000 for the Duke, on his accepting of the government, to demonstrate the sense of the kingdom, and in consideration of his "vast losses" in the service of Ireland. The duke's arrival in Ireland was deferred, on account of the approaching nuptials of the king, with the Infanta of Portugal; a match against which the duke had strongly but vainly protested. His objections, together with those of the chancellor and the earl of Southampton, were listened to by the king in Tom Chiffin's closet, of which so graphic a sketch has been drawn by the pen of Scott.* They remonstrated with him, on the score of the religion of the princess, and the king replied, there were no protestant princesses fit for him to marry: it was replied that there were princesses enough in Germany, but the king answered in his lively style, "cod's fish, they are all foggy, and he could not like any of them for a wife;" upon this, says Carte, "the duke was satisfied that he would marry none but a Roman catholic."† To this Carte adds a curious story of the accident by which the duke had first discovered the secret of the king's religion. "The king had carefully concealed that change from the duke of Ormonde, who yet discovered it by accident. The duke had some suspicions of it from the time that they removed from Cologne into Flanders; for though he never observed that zeal and concern as to divine things, which he often wished in the king, yet so much as appeared in him at any time looked that way. However, he thought it so very little that he hoped it would soon wear off upon returning to his kingdoms, and was not fully convinced of his change, till about the time the treaty of the Pyrenees was going to be opened. The duke was always a very early riser, and being then at Brussels, used to amuse himself at times that others were in bed, in walking about the town and seeing the churches. Going one morning very early by a church, where a great number of persons were at their devotions, he stepped in; and advancing near the altar, he saw the king on his knees at mass. He readily imagined his majesty would not be pleased that he should see him there, and therefore retired as cautiously as he could, went to a different part of the church, near another altar, where nobody was, kneeled down, and said his own prayers till the king was gone." At the period of this occurrence, considerable anxiety prevailed among the king's friends on the subject of his religion: some were of opinion that his open conformity to the church of Rome would have the advantageous effect

* Feveril of the Peak.

† Carte, ii. 154.

of obtaining for him the ancient possession of the Roman catholic crown. While object among which was the duke with more sagacity saw that such a step would convert not as end to all his hopes, but a mere step to a new one, and that he must himself, while others who would not even appear to him, be passing time in his interest in the Roman church, yet endeavored to convert them in their interest. The king was himself indifferent in all cases further than as they could be brought to the verge of his inclinations, and with the ordinary mixture of ingenuity and finery which composes the character of the modern monarch: neither was a convenient creed of his own: in a word, he sought himself in the assumption that God must be so merciful as to forgive the most direct disobedience of the whole letter and spirit of his positive law, and that he might therefore freely indulge the inclinations of a most abandoned and prodigal nature, provided he exercised an occasional private devotion, which must of course have been a strange compound of macheries and contradictions. The duke who had kept the secret of his change of persuasion until after the restoration, then communicated it to the earl of Southampton, and they considered how they might best prevent any of the consequences which were to be apprehended. For this purpose they contrived to have a clause inserted in the act that was passed for the security of the king's person and government, making it a *provisoire* for any one to say the "king was a papist."

The duke was long detained from his duties in Ireland, by those of his office of lord-steward, which required that he should meet the queen on her landing at Portsmouth, and after by the arrangements and ceremonies attendant upon the royal marriage, so that the summer was far advanced when he was at liberty to depart for Ireland. The numerous company of Irish nobility and gentry which had been drawn to London in prosecution of their claims, accompanied him, and formed a train of splendour never before or since approached in the journey of a lieutenant to his government: and his reception in Dublin, no less remarkable for its magnificence than for the public enthusiasm it called forth, is called "an epitome of the restoration" by Carte.

The act of settlement now passed, and was accompanied by a long speech from the Duke, who expounded its provisions with their reason or necessity in such a manner as to place every thing in the most conciliatory aspect. His speech was printed by order of the house. The recess followed and he went to Kilkenny, where his daughter, lady Mary Butler, was married in October to lord Cavendish.

Notwithstanding the anxious precautions and explanations of the duke, the act of settlement gave very general, and in many respects justifiable discontent. Among those whose complaints were most grounded in real wrong, were the officers called the forty-nine men, who had loyally and strenuously served the king against the rebels on every side, without ever having received any pay, and whose arrears were unquestionably the prior claim on both the justice and gratitude of the king; but so numerous and so large were the grants into which he had been inadvertently led, that there were not in fact means over and above the restorations which justice demanded, and those iniquitous appropriations. Among these, the earl of Leicester

whose service had been but nominal, contrived to have £50,000 under the claim of arrears, charged upon the security of the lands for the purpose of arrears, and Sir W. Petty, obtained large grants of the same lands. So great indeed and so unquestionable was the injustice done to this meritorious and suffering class of claimants, that a bill was brought in to provide for their security.

The duke was doomed on the present, as on the former occasion, and as indeed through every stage of his life, to suffer by his own excessive disinterestedness, and by a public spirit which appears to have set aside all private considerations. Among his first acts, the most urgent and essential was the purgation of the army, from the dregs of the republican and fanatic spirit which rendered it less available for the immediate service. To effect this, money to a large amount was necessary; but from the circumstances already explained, it will be understood, that of money there was no provision and but little prospect. The duke met the emergency, as in former times, by a large disbursement from his private estate—at a time when others were endeavouring to secure whatever could be grasped by any effort. The necessity appears not indeed to have been slight for this step; for, not to speak of the rumours of meditated insurrection in Ireland, for which little spirit remained, there was a strong party in England, still hostile to the restoration, and willing, should they find means, to raise a popular insurrection. These, and not without reason, boasted of having 8000 men in the Irish army ready to join in the attempt to throw off the present royal family, and declare a commonwealth: a design favoured by the discontents which the act of uniformity caused among the puritans, whose clergy generally declared, that they would resign their benefices, sooner than conform—a declaration to which they for the most part adhered. We shall notice these particulars in a future stage.

The commissioners appointed for the execution of the settlement, having been objected to on the fair ground that they were parties concerned, another commission was appointed, of competent English lawyers and gentlemen having no interest in Ireland. Their awards were too impartial to please a large portion of the claimants, which comprised chiefly these adventurers and soldiers whose claims were either founded on usurpation, or upon their service under the commonwealth. The first cases disposed of were those of the Irish, who had been undeservedly dispossessed of their estates: on this claim the numbers who came forward and made good their claims, by proving their innocence, was great beyond the expectations or the wish of the adventurers, who became discontented and alarmed, and in consequence soon began to express their complaints, and plot resistance. Many of Cromwell's officers conspired to effect an armed rising, and appointed a committee for its direction: among the officers appointed upon this committee, one (a Mr T. Alden,) disclosed the secret through his friend colonel Vernon, and by the same channel gave intelligence from time to time of their proceedings. Among the conspirators were some officers who conceived the notion of surprising the castle; Mr Alden gave warning of their intention, but mentioned a time farther off than afterwards turned out to be the time actually fixed; as captain Hulet and lieutenant Turet, who had probably at first fixed

upon the 9th or 10th of March according to the information, saw reasons to expedite their design. On the 5th of that month, a company was to mount guard, among whom they reckoned on fifty men, and a sergeant: they also contrived to obtain arms and powder from the store, by practising upon the simplicity or knavery of the store-keeper's boy, and made up their minds to attempt the castle on that night by the gate that opens towards Ship street. Alden learned this change of purpose on the very day; but as colonel Vernon was out of the way, he found no means to convey his intelligence to the duke of Ormonde. Fortunately, the duke had himself received notice the day before, from a person named Hopkins, whom Turret had engaged to join. Such preparations were made as could not have failed to repel the attempt, but the conspirators themselves were apprised of the discovery of their design and made no attack. Some of them fled for their lives, and others were taken; but their information was unsatisfactory, as they were not persons who had been trusted by the leading conspirators.

Among the troublesome occurrences of this period of the duke's life, not the least was caused by the exhibition of the same refractory spirit in the House of Commons. An address was presented to him, in which this branch of parliament embodied the complaints of the adventurers and Cromwellians. They complained of the liberal and strictly equitable proceedings of the commissioners, and proposed a new method of conducting the cases, which would soon have restored the gripping and corrupt decisions of the parliamentary courts. In the cases which came usually before the court, the plaintiff was the person whose innocence was to be proved, and the defendant he who was actually in possession of his lands. They now proposed that the king should be a party, and no decision made before the attorney-general should have been heard against the plaintiff. To this absurd and anomalous expedient, it was in addition proposed, that the cases should be tried by juries, so described, as in effect to give the decision to the persons most interested, either by claim or party. Other regulations respecting the nature of the evidence, and others limiting the lands and the claims, were proposed, and to the whole was tacked the false proposition, that the maintenance of the Protestant religion was dependent on the adoption of such proposals. The duke saw the injustice of these arrangements and was also much vexed and disgusted by the insidiousness and fallacy of this attempt to connect the church, which it was his main policy and desire to maintain, with such flagitious demands. The duke received their address coldly, and told them it should be taken into consideration. They were dissatisfied with this reply, and caused Sir A. Mervyn's speech, in which the address had been moved, to be printed. The king caused the printer to be taken up, and expressed his disapprobation in strong terms: and the duke wrote a letter to the parliament, in which he forcibly exposed the folly and mischief of their proceedings. They had, he represented, suggested the dangerous notion, that the protestant interest was in danger, in consequence of which many respectable protestants had received an alarm highly pernicious to that interest, as it both prevented English protestants from looking for settlements in Ireland, and caused many to sell at low rates the estates they had.

He explained to them the truth so obvious, and yet seemingly so hardly received, that the country only wanted peace to ensure the growth of universal prosperity: while the rights and interests of every class must suffer by the perpetuation of disunion and discontent. The commons retracted their proceeding, declared their abhorrence of the recent plot, acknowledged the lord-lieutenant's great care and vigilance in defeating it, and pledged themselves to support him with their lives and fortunes, in the maintenance of the royal authority.

Notwithstanding the check which it thus received, the main conspiracy went on with unremitting activity. The time of insurrection was fixed for May 25th, when the castles of Dublin, Drogheda, Derry, and other places of strength, were by simultaneous movements to be seized. There were meetings and consultations in Dublin and several parts of the country, to ensure the means and regulate the proceedings: several members of parliament, lawyers and military officers, were engaged in the undertaking, among whom the most active were a presbyterian minister, named Lackie, and a person of the name of Blood, who passed frequently into Scotland, under the hope of drawing the Scotch into the rebellion. Sir A. Forbes was sent down into the north, and soon succeeded in obtaining extensive intelligence of their proceedings, which were disconcerted by the arrest of major Staples, who had charge of the execution of the plan which they had concerted for the seizure of the towns. On the arrest of Staples, the greater part of the northern conspirators fled into Scotland.

In Munster the proceedings of the conspiracy were scarcely less active. A short extract will convey in the briefest form a view of the hopes, designs, and dependency of the persons engaged in it. Carte represents one of these, colonel Jephson, as explaining to Sir Theophilus Jones, whom he was anxious to gain to the party, "that they did not want an army, for there were 15,000 Scots excommunicated by the bishops in the north, who were ready within two days, and they doubted not but their own army would join them; that they had a bank of money in Dublin, sufficient to pay off all the arrears of the army, both in Oliver's time, and since the king's return, but he could not tell from whence it came, unless from Holland; that he had seen three or four firkins of it carried into Mr Boyd's house, and he could himself command £500 out of that bank the next day; that they had a wise council of considerable persons, such as would not be readily guessed at, who managed the business, and any body who should see the scheme, which was particularly set down in writing, would be convinced of its exactness; that Mr Roberts, who was auditor under Cromwell, had been for two months casting up the arrears of the army, and had now perfected the account, so that it was known what was due to every one, and such as would join them should be paid off everywhere; that there were 1000 horse in Dublin for securing the city, and Henry Ingolsby was to appear with them as soon as the castle was taken, and a flag put up, of which they no way doubted; that they intended to offer no violence to any but such as opposed them; that the duke of Ormonde's person was to be seized, but to be civilly treated; that several other persons were to be secured, and par-

ticularly he himself was to seize the earl of Clancarty, and colonel Fitz-Patrick; that every party had their particular orders to surprise each of the guards of the city; that one MacCormack was a great person in the action, and there were six ministers that went about Dublin in perukes, but laid them by when they were at prayers, and these were to be in the streets, to see that no plunder or disorder should be committed; that they had a declaration, of which many thousand copies were printed, ready to be dispersed, declaring that their undertaking was for securing the English interest, and the three kingdoms which were going to ruin by the countenance given to popery; that all the English should enjoy such estates as they possessed on 1st May, 1659; that religion should be settled according to the solemn league and covenant.* He added, "that they would overturn the three kingdoms, and that the word which was to be given on the taking of the castle was, '*For the king and English interest.*'"[†] Jones, without the loss of a moment, wrote down the heads of this conversation, which he disclosed next day to the duke.

The plan for the surprise of Dublin castle was one, which, without some previous warning, would most probably have succeeded. Several persons were to loiter into the castle yard, separately, as having petitions, or on some other fair pretence, while eighty foot soldiers, disguised as mechanics and trades' people, were to remain outside, dispersed in different small groups, or with the appearance of idle loiterers, so as not to attract notice, until they should receive the signal concerted: this was to be given by a baker carrying a large basket of bread, who was to stumble in the gateway: it was supposed that the guards in the gateway would immediately scramble for the bread, and thus offer a full opportunity for the disguised assailants to force their way in before the nature of their proceedings could be suspected. Within twelve hours of the time appointed for this exploit, the chief conspirators were all arrested by orders from the duke of Ormonde; and the few of less importance who escaped, were actively searched for. Among these latter, the most remarkable was Blood, the most daring, unscrupulous, and active of all the conspirators; this desperado found shelter for a time in Antrim, and afterwards among the mountains of Ulster, where he pretended to be a priest. From thence he reached the county of Wicklow, where he lurked for a while, and under various names and disguises, travelled through the kingdom, endeavouring to reunite and revive the conspiracy. He expressed himself strongly on the advantage they would gain if the duke of Ormonde should be slain, asserting that his death would be of more importance than the possession of the castle of Dublin; and the impression soon became very much diffused that he would himself be very likely to assassinate the duke.†

The duke was very anxious to treat his prisoners with lenity, and a few who frankly acknowledged their guilt, he pardoned; but a notion had circulated, that conspiring to levy war was not treason, unless pursued into overt acts of rebellion; and it was felt to be essential to

* Carte, II. 267.

† Carte.

the peace of the kingdom, that this dangerous delusion should be removed by some examples. Bills were found against five of the prisoners, who were tried and found guilty, upon the evidence of several, most of whom had been engaged in the same conspiracy. These persons were executed.

The people of Ireland were in every quarter deeply anxious for quiet, there existed among them not the slightest tendency to disaffected feeling: and there was moreover a sincere and universal sense of affection and respect for the duke of Ormonde diffused among every class, with the slight yet dangerous exception of the remains of the republican party. This, most unhappily indeed, still composed the chief material of the army in both countries. The duke was anxious to adopt the only direct remedy, which was the purgation of the army; but money was wanting, and he was thus involved in great embarrassments. He made a progress into Ulster, by his presence to awe the disaffected, revive loyal feelings, and give confidence to the apprehensions of the peaceable; and felt himself also under the necessity of employing agents to watch the proceedings of those parties who were suspected of any dangerous design.

Among the embarrassments to which the duke was at this period subject, not the least perplexing or eventually pernicious to his personal interest, arose from the enmities excited by his straight and unswerving integrity in the employment of his patronage. The courtiers of Charles, who grasped at every office of emolument or trust, resented the refusals of the duke to mix himself in their low intrigues for preferment, and his disposal of the commands under his own appointment, to individuals whose claims were those only of fair and meritorious service. Among the enemies which he thus made for himself, the most conspicuous for talent, station, and court favour, was Sir H. Bennet, who had first to no purpose endeavoured to draw the duke into a cabal to make him secretary of state. While he was digesting his discontent at the duke's neutrality in this affair, the death of lord Falkland left a troop of horse at the disposal of the duke, and it was applied for by Bennet, for his brother, who had never been in Ireland. The king expressed great anxiety that the duke should take the opportunity thus afforded of conciliating Bennet: but the duke gave the troop to lord Callan, whose claim was that of long and active service. He had already refused it to his own son, the lord John Butler, and wrote to his friend, Daniel O'Neile, at the English court, a letter on the subject, in which among other thing he says—"I think I told him (I am sure I might have done it truly) that many who had been deservedly officers of the field amongst the horse, and some colonels, were, with great industry and earnestness, desiring to be lieutenants of horse, and that he who was lieutenant of that (Sir T. Armstrong's) troop, had long, faithfully, and stoutly, served as major of horse. Figure to yourself how he and the rest would take it, to have a man never heard of, and who never was more than a captain of foot, made captain of horse over their heads; and then consider, if my part be not hard, that must lose a friendship, because I will not countenance so disobliging a pretension; and all the while, what is my con-

cernment or advantage, but the discharge of my duty? If Mr Secretary's brother were near upon a level with other pretenders, and I should not supply what were wanting in consideration of him, he had reason to reproach me with want of friendship; but sure it will be hard to live well with him, if the frankness of my proceeding with him shall be esteemed injurious, to be remembered upon all occasions, and retributed by crossing my desires, when they aim at just things, and such as tend to the king's service."

The countess of Castlemaine—whose unworthy interest with the libertine king, gave her a power which fortunately she had not understanding to exert as perniciously as she might—contrived to obtain a letter for passing to herself a grant of the Phoenix Park and Lodge. The duke refused to pass the warrant, and stopped the grant. By a strong remonstrance he changed the king's purpose, and persuaded him to enlarge the park by a purchase of 450 acres, and assign the house for the accommodation of the lords-lieutenant of Ireland. When the duke next visited England, the lady who was thus disappointed, assailed him at court with torrents of the most pestiferous abuse, and concluded by expressing her hope to see him hanged: the duke listened to her invective without showing any appearance of concern, and in reply to the concluding compliment, told her, that he "did not feel the same wish to put an end to her days, and only wished he might live to see her an old woman."

Another remarkable instance in which the duke drew upon himself a heavy discharge of court enmity, was the case of the marquess of Antrim; but the particulars would demand far more space than we can here afford. This marquess was making suit at court for the restoration of his large estates which were forfeited in the recent rebellion, and in the hands of adventurers. The queen mother was his zealous friend, and determined to support his suit. The interest of the duke was looked for, or at least the weight of his sanction was thought a necessary corroboration of such a claim. The duke was reluctant to oppose the queen, or to take upon himself the invidious office of pressing the unworthiness of the marquess; yet it was still more repugnant to his sense of honour, to be brought into a court intrigue for the perversion of justice, and he represented that their object could be easily effected without his mediation, which he could not offer without compromising his regard for truth. He was charged by the marquess' friends with enmity, and by his own enemies it was imputed to him, that he was privately using his influence in favour of the marquess, though he publicly affected to oppose him. The duke defended himself from both of these charges; an extract from his letter to a friend, expressing his own sentiment, is the most we can here afford to add upon the subject:—"I am still really persuaded of my lord St Alban's friendship to me, and that belief receives no abatement by his endeavours for the saving of my lord Antrim's estate. For it were as unreasonable to expect a friend should think always as I do, as that he should have the same voice, or coloured beard. I confess I cannot find any obligation, that was upon the late king, or that is upon this, to do extraordinary things for my lord of Antrim; and I am sure there neither were nor

are any upon me, but the queen mother's commands, and my lord St Alban's interposition, upon both which I set the value I ought. In this particular, and in that of the bill,* people take me to be more concerned than I am. They know me not, and traduce me that say I interiorly wish his restitution; and that though publicly I oppose it, yet privately I assist him. On the other side they as much mistake me, that believe I affect his ruin, and an enmity with him. The first were unchristian, and the other a very pitiable ambition. I have been civil, as I ought to be, to his lady, when she made applications to me; and this must be taken for helping her lord. In my dispatches I have freely spoken truth concerning him and his business; and that is taken for hatred of him; but neither truly. My lord chancellor Bacon says in one of his essays, that there are men will set their houses on fire to roast their eggs. They are dangerous cattle, if they can disguise themselves under plausible pretences. I have done all I conceive belongs to me to do in the business of my lord Antrim. I cannot unsay what I have said in it till I am convinced of error: but if I be asked no more questions about him, I can and will hold my peace."

The act of settlement was unattended by the expected result, and only gave rise to endless clamour and litigation. An explanation bill was ordered to be prepared, and was rejected by the king, who referred the subject to the consideration of the lord-lieutenant and his council, to whom he gave orders to frame a new bill, so as to give the utmost attainable satisfaction to all who had any reasonable claim. The duke proceeded with his characteristic impartiality and caution, excluding the expectations of those who might not unreasonably have looked upon him as the head of their party, and only contemplating the claims of justice limited by the consideration of what was practicable and expedient for the general welfare of the country. It was endeavoured to secure the "forty-nine" officers—to lower the claims of adventurers—and to increase the fund for the redress of those whom the late court of claims had left unprovided for. A new bill on these principles was framed and transmitted; the several parties interested once more sent their advocates to London; and the presence of the duke being considered necessary, he committed the government to lord Ossory and also went over.

On his arrival, an order of council was made, that he should call to his aid such of the Irish privy council as were in London, with the commissioners for claims, &c., and with them carefully review the deliberations which had been entered into on Irish affairs, and advise what corrections or additions should appear expedient and just. This council met in August, and so considerable was the mass of papers, and representations, and petitions, of parties concerned, which they had to investigate, that their task was not ended till 26th May following. The several parties concerned made their proposals, in which, while all seem to have taken for a basis, the same general view of their respective rights, each still proposed such an adjustment as best appeared to favour their separate demands: the main proposers were the Roman catholics, the soldiers and adventurers; and in looking closely into the

* The bill of explanation then transmitted into England.

detailed statement of their proposals, we are not prepared to assert that there was on every side manifested as much fairness and regard to the fair claims of the others, as can be expected in every case of human opposition.* The *condemnation* was decided by the offer of the Roman catholic, who proposed that if the soldiers and adventurers would consent to part with one-third of the lands respectively enjoyed by them, on the claim of adventures and service on May 7, 1659, they were ready to agree to their general proposal. The proposal was accepted by all parties, and on the 15th May, 1655, in conformity with this general consent, it was ordered, "that the adventurers and soldiers should have two-thirds of the lands whereof they stood possessed, on May 7, 1659; that the Connaught purchasers should have two-thirds of what was in their possession, in September, 1663; that what any person wanted of his two-thirds should be supplied, and whatever he had more should be taken from him; and the adventurers and soldiers should make their election where the overplus should be retrenched, and the forty-nine men should be entirely established in their present possessions."† On these resolutions the act was drawn up. The last step was the addition of a list of twenty nominees, whom the king was by name to restore to their estates. For this the lord-lieutenant presented several lists of persons held worthy of the king's favour by the earl of Clancarty, earl of Athenry, &c., &c. The king referred these back to the lord-lieutenant to select twenty such names as might seem to him most fit for that preference—an invidious and disagreeable task to be performed against the following day. The duke made out his list, and though none of the names were objected against, there was much complaint among the numerous persons who thought it a hardship to be omitted. Among these, Sir Patrick Barnewall alone had some reason for complaint, his claim having been such, that his name was only left out, on the assurance that he would otherwise be restored. He was undoubtedly "an innocent," but the court of claims had first postponed the hearing of his case, and then by the explanatory act, all claims were taken away from those whom that court had not declared innocent: thus, by a concurrence of errors, a grievous injustice was committed. He now applied to the duke, who made so strong a representation to the king that he received a considerable pension for life.

But the greatest sufferer by these arrangements was the duke himself, on whom the main weight of perplexity of Irish affairs always rested. With all his great ability as a statesman, he was utterly devoid of a prudent concern for his own affairs, and showed an improvidence in the care of his estate, and a readiness to abandon his own rights quite unparalleled in modern history. To supply the great deficiency of lands and the delay of ascertaining the extent of forfeiture, which perplexed the settlement, the duke consented to abandon large tracts of his property. The proposal was made that he should accept £5000 a-year in lieu of the whole of the forfeited parts of his estate: this offer was strongly objected to by Mr Walsh, his agent, on the ground that the lands were worth five times the sum: but the duke was reluctant to allow any delay of the settlement resulting from any demur

* See Carte, II. 303.

† Carte.

on his part, and consented. This was not all,—for besides making this extraordinary sacrifice, a sum of £50,000, amounting not quite to double the annual rental of the property thus resigned, was secured to the duke, who allotted it for the payment of debts, chiefly incurred for the interests of the kingdom. Of these, the more considerable part of the securities, which had by forfeiture fallen to the crown, had been restored to the duke in reward of his services—with a stretch of generosity far beyond the ordinary conduct of the noblest men, the duke immediately wrote to Mr Walsh to pay off the whole. Such is but a cursory sketch of the history of these great and singular acts of disinterestedness, which seem to have made so little just impression upon the heated factions and unprincipled court-parties of his time. The neglect is indeed but seeming; for in the midst of all the injustice and rancour of those to whom the duke refused to be subservient, or the discontent of those whom it was impossible to content, the respect for his disinterestedness and integrity was universal. Nothing indeed more remarkably attests the truth of this than the style of censure adopted by those historians (for the most part recent,) whose political opinions incapacitate them from comprehending his real motives of actions. A tone of disparaging and captious insinuation wholly unsupported by even an attempt at direct statement, meets the careless reader and appeals to his prejudices, or conveys those of the writer, in some indirect form of language, hinting wrong motives for right acts, or a construction of intentions diametrically at variance with every plain indication both of conduct and profession; so that all the censures implied are uniformly in opposition to all the writer's facts. Such indeed is the proud test which history affords of the merits of this great statesman and still greater man: praise may be partial, but when the utmost reach of hostility can only extract material for a little timid inconsistency of language out of the history of a nobleman who stemmed the torrent of every faction, and attracted all the hostility of the rebels, the fanatics, and the unprincipled intriguers on every side; it surely speaks more for the duke than the language of panegyric can say.

The bill of explanation was next to be carried through the Irish parliament, a proceeding in which much difficulty was to be expected from the high and exclusive temper of that body, mainly composed of the adventurers, and generally of those parties which were in possession of titles to property which was liable to be rendered questionable by the bill. The duke left London, to prepare for this important affair: he was compelled to remain for some time in Bristol, to compose the disorders which had risen to a dangerous height in that city; and having succeeded in restoring quiet to the citizens, he passed over from Milford Haven, and landed at Duncannon fort, from which he proceeded to Kilkenny. The parliament was judiciously prorogued until the 26th October, to leave time for bringing round the more interested of the members, of whom the greater part were to lose a third of their claims: on the more moderate and public spirited of these the duke might hope to prevail, and lord Orrery was popular among the more violent, with whom he engaged to use his influence.

In the mean time the duke made his entry into Dublin, in a state of magnificence far surpassing any thing known in that city before,

or long after, till the visit of George the Fourth. All that the taste and wealth of the age could devise of magnificent and gorgeous was lavished to swell the solemnity of the scene, and do honour to one who had deserved so much, and from whom so much was yet looked for. Sir Daniel Bellingham, the first lord mayor of Dublin,* exerted himself to give effect and direction to the zeal of every class. The particulars may interest many readers, we therefore add them here in the words of Carte: "When his Grace was advanced within six miles of the place, he was met by a gallant train of young gentlemen, well mounted, and alike richly attired; their habits of a kind of ash-colour, trimmed with scarlet and silver, all in white scarfs, and commanded by one Mr Corker, a deserving gentleman, employed in his majesty's revenue, with other officers to complete the troop, which marched in excellent order to the bounds of the city liberty, where they left his Grace to be received by the sheriffs of the city who were attended by the corporations in their stations; after the sheriffs had entertained his Grace with a short speech, the citizens marched next; and after the maiden troop, next to that his Grace's gentlemen; and then his kettle drums and trumpets; after them the sheriffs of the city, bare-headed, then the sergeants-at-arms and their pursuivants; and in the next place followed his Grace, accompanied by the nobility and privy councillors of the kingdom; after them the lifeguard of horse. Within St James's gate his Grace was entertained by the lord mayor, aldermen, and principal members of the city on the right hand, and on the left stood six gladiators, stript, and drawn; next them his Grace's guard of battle-axes; before them his Majesty's company of the royal regiment; the rest of the companies making a guard to the castle. The king's company marched next; after the citizens; then the battle-axes; and thus through a wonderful throng of people, till they came to the conduit in the corn market, whence wine ran in abundance. At the new hall was erected a scaffold, on which were placed half-a-dozen anticks; by the tollsel was erected another scaffold, whereupon was represented Ceres under a Canopy, attended by four virgins. At the end of Castle street a third scaffold was erected, on which stood Vulcan by his anvil, with four Cyclops asleep by it. And the last scaffold was raised at the entrance into the castle gate, whereupon stood Bacchus, with four or five good fellows. In fine, the whole ceremony was performed, both upon the point of order and affection, to his Grace's exceeding satisfaction, who was at last welcomed in the castle with great and small shot; and so soon as the streets could be cleared of coaches, (which was a good while first, for they were very many,) the streets and the air were filled with fire-works, which were very well managed to complete the entertainment."

It will not be necessary to go at length into the means which were taken by the duke to carry the bill, against which there was entertained in parliament so much personal reluctance. To impress them with feelings of a more favourable kind, he first employed them for sixteen days in a most apprehensive investigation on the recent insurrection, in which several of their members had been implicated, and many could

* Carte, II. 313.

not avoid feeling the danger of being involved. The effect was salutary, and they soon began to manifest a tone of mind more submissive and favourable to that sacrifice of personal interests which the peace of the kingdom demanded. And thus by considerable address, and the seasonable interposition of topics, adapted to work on their fears, the bill was passed with little demur, and received the royal assent on December 23, 1665. Five commissioners were appointed to carry it into operation, with a constant appeal to the duke in cases of difficulty. The discharge of this important duty continued for many years to load him with embarrassments and vexations: and the more so as it was his continual duty to interfere for the purpose of preventing the alienation of the lands allotted for the purposes of the act, to influential parties who obtained private grants from the crown. Such grants he steadily set aside, and thus created for himself innumerable private enemies, dangerous from their influence and want of principle.

In 1663, the country gentlemen of England had been distressed by a general fall in the price of cattle, and a consequent difficulty in obtaining their rents. This they attributed to the importation of Irish and Scotch cattle and sheep, which on inquiry was found to be very considerable: the average importation from Ireland alone having been for many years sixty-one thousand head of black cattle. The House of Commons had in consequence ordered a bill to prohibit this importation. This bill passed quickly through the Commons. The measure had been carried with an anxious eagerness through the Commons, and with a view to evade opposition, had in fact been smuggled through as a clause in an "*act for the encouragement of trade*:" so that the duke of Ormonde only received an intimation upon the subject while it was passing through the upper house, and sent over the earl of Anglesey to protest against it in his name, and that of the Irish council. The act passed, and the destructive consequences were soon felt in Ireland. The council of trade, formed by the duke in Ireland, met to remonstrate upon this grievance: it was composed of numerous gentlemen of fortune, and of the principal merchants; from this body a strong remonstrance was transmitted to England. They represented the disastrous consequences of such a prohibition of Irish property, of which it so entirely destroyed the value, that all the farmers would be under the necessity of throwing up their leases. They pointed out the destructive effects which must also be sustained by his majesty's customs, so that the expense of the Irish army and civil list would be necessarily either wanting, to the total ruin of the kingdom, or to be defrayed by large remittances from England. They also shewed the injury which would be inflicted upon London, by a law which would withdraw the whole Irish trade from that city; as the entire stock of wines, clothes, and mostly all manufactured goods, for the use of the Irish nobility and gentry, were purchased there on a half-yearly credit, maintained by the returns of the Irish produce sold in England. They showed the suffering and inconvenience likely to ensue among the trading towns in England, by the rise of the prices of beef and mutton, and the consequent rise of wages. And further pointed out the serious injury to be sustained by the shipping interests on the

western coast, chiefly maintained by the cattle and coal trade between the two countries. Their remonstrance was transmitted by the earl of Ossory and the Irish council, to the duke of Ormonde then in England on the business of the settlement. The duke enforced their arguments with others derived from a more enlarged view of the political state of Europe at the time. Having strongly dwelt upon the unseasonableness of such an act, at a moment when Ireland had recently emerged from ten years of destructive civil war which had almost annihilated all her vital powers, he showed that by some law, or by the operation of some circumstance, every other resource was either cut off or reduced to little more than nominal: with Holland there was war; with France war was impending; the *act for the encouragement of trade*, shut them out from America; an English monopoly from the Canary Islands. He also repeated with strong additional weight, the forcible and home argument of the great loss which the revenue must sustain. He showed that the English fattening lands, which were mostly stocked from Ireland, must thus become a monopoly to the breeders of cattle. He exposed the arguments on the opposite side, and asserted that the consequences of which they complained were not attributable to the importation of Irish cattle; he observed the manifest absurdity of attributing the loss of £200,000, said to be sustained by English landlords to the importation of cattle to the amount of £140,000 from Ireland. He said that the recent revival of Lent in England must have diminished the consumption; the drought of the last summers must have hurt the farmers, the drain of emigration, the ravage of the plague, the stoppage of trade by the war with Holland. To all these reasons he added, that no such complaints had been heard of till recently, though the Irish cattle trade had been of old standing and had been much more considerable before the civil wars. Finally he brought forward many reasons to show that the injury thus done to Ireland must be eventually hurtful to England.

The king was convinced by these arguments, with many others which we have not noticed here: but he was himself dependent upon his commons, and had not the virtue or the firmness to oppose their narrow and selfish policy. The bill met with considerable opposition in the lords, where views of general policy were better understood, and considerations of national justice had more weight. There the earl of Castlehaven made a vigorous stand, and represented the great benefit which the commerce of Ireland had received under the sagacious and energetic care of the duke of Ormonde, "greater (he justly observed,) than it had experienced even from the earl of Strafford." His exposition converted many; but nothing better than delay was obtained. For the following three years the act continued to be the subject of the most violent party opposition and court manoeuvre, and after being strenuously combated by the duke and his friends at every stage, and on every discussion, and feebly discountenanced by the king, it was at last when the house of lords showed the strongest inclination to throw it out, carried through by the influence of the court and the interest of the duke of York. The effects were such as had been predicted by the duke of Ormonde and the friends of Ireland, but eventu-

ally turned out to the advantage of Ireland by turning the wealth and industry of the country into other channels, as we shall have to show further on.

During these proceedings, many troubles had occurred in Ireland, to engage the anxious attention of the duke. A party of forty plunderers, under the leaders Costello and Nangle, gave much trouble during the summer of 1666, but were in the end routed, and Nangle killed; after which Costello fled into Connaught, where, at the head of half-a-dozen desperadoes, he committed frightful havoc and plunder among the farm-houses and villages. At last lord Dillon, on whose estate he had committed the greatest depredations, sent out some armed parties of his own tenantry. Costello attacked one of these in the night, which he thought to surprise: he was however shot dead, and the whole of his gang cut to pieces. Thus ended an affair which but a few years before would have been a wide wasting insurrection. It clearly indicates the sense of the people, at this time pretty well experienced as to the real fruits of civil war.

Far more serious was a mutiny among the troops, of whom a large part were ill-disposed to the government, and all discontented at the irregularity of their pay, and the insufficiency of their maintenance. The duke received intelligence of a conspiracy, headed by colonel Phaire, captain Walcot, and other officers, to raise a general insurrection; and having sent full information to lord Orrery, who commanded in Munster, lord Orrery soon found means to seize a person from whom he learned that the conspiracy extended to England and Scotland, and that it was planned "to rise at once in all the three kingdoms; to set up the long parliament, of which above forty members were engaged; that measures had been taken to gather together the disbanded soldiers of the old army, and Ludlow was to be general-in-chief; that they were to be assisted with forces, arms, and money, by the Dutch; and were to rise all in one night, and spare none that would not join in the design—which was to pull down the king with the house of lords, and instead of the bishops to set up a sober and painful ministry; that collections had been made of money to work upon the necessities of the soldiery, and they had already bought several men in different garrisons, and that particularly they had given large sums to soldiers (some of which he named,) that were upon the guard in the castles of Dublin and Limerick, for the seizing of those places, whenever they were ready to declare, which would be in a few weeks; that each officer engaged in the design had his particular province assigned him, and answered for a particular number of men, which he was to bring into the field."

The earl of Orrery, with the promptness which was natural to his active and energetic character, took the most effectual means to suppress so dangerous a spirit within his own jurisdiction. He communicated with all the officers, and established a strict system of vigilant observation over the actions and conversation of the soldiers. He proposed also to empower the officers to arrest all suspicious persons, and to seize their arms and horses; but to this the duke objected. "I confess," he writes to lord Orrery, "I am not willing to trust inferior officers, civil or military, with judging who are danger-

ous persons, and fit to be secured, and their horses taken from them; a thing seldom performed without a mixture of private ends, either of revenge or avarice; and I know not what could more induce or extenuate the crime of rebellion than the taking up of persons or their goods upon alarms or general suggestions."*

The duke was fully aware at that moment that the mutinous spirit which had thus showed itself in the south, and still more the indications of a similar temper in the north, were but the premonitory signs of a more dangerous and general disorder. There was fermenting in Scotland an insurrectionary temper which had its branches in England and Ireland; and the duke considered these outbreaks among the northern garrisons the more to be dreaded on account of their vicinity to the Scottish coast. A mutiny in Carrickfergus, in April, was easily appeased without the necessity of any severe or coercive remedy; and the garrison, encouraged by the dangerous lenity which had been shown, again broke out more fiercely in May, when they seized upon the town and castle of Carrickfergus. The earl of Donegal endeavoured to treat with them, but they rejected his offers, the mildness of which only served to encourage their insubordination. The duke, on receiving intelligence of the circumstances, sent orders to the earl to make no further offers, as it was become essential to the peace of the kingdom that the mutineers should be made examples of to the disaffected throughout the army. He immediately sent off his son, the earl of Arran, with four companies of his guards, the only troops on whom he felt any reliance; and not content with this, he soon after set off himself for the north.

The earl of Arran had encountered rough weather, which drove him within a league of the Mull of Galloway; but the storm abating, he was enabled to get into the bay of Carrickfergus on the 27th, and at noon landed his men without opposition. He was joined by the earl of Donegal, and by the mayor who had made his escape. From the mayor he received the assurance that the townsmen were on the watch to favour him, and if he could beat the mutineers from the walls, a party would seize upon a gate and secure his admission. The mutineers formed their own plan, which was to plunder the town and shut themselves in the castle: to secure time for this they sent to demand time till four o'clock, to consider what they should propose. Lord Arran was however apprized of their design and demanded immediate entrance, and on being refused, he ordered a smart fire upon the walls. The garrison, seeing that no time was to be lost, instantly commenced their retreat into the castle, leaving what they considered a sufficient party to defend the walls. The earl of Arran soon forced his way, with the loss of two men slain at his side, while the leader of the mutineers, one Dillon, was slain in the pursuit as they fled towards the castle. There were 120 men in the castle, strongly fortified, and having provisions for a month: but wholly without officers. They became terrified at the regular preparations for an assault, and quickly offered to treat, but lord Arran sent them word that he could not offer them any terms, and they presently submitted at discretion.

* Carte, II. 325.

Nine of them, who had taken a leading part, were condemned to death, and the remainder sent to Dublin, from whence they were transported to the colonies. The duke broke the four companies in which the mutiny had arisen, and left two companies of his guards at Carrickfergus.

These disturbances, with the alarm of a French invasion, were in one respect useful, as they had the salutary effect of drawing £15,000 from the treasury, which enabled the duke to appease the violent and not unreasonable discontent of the army. He had long conceived a plan for the organization of a militia for the defence of the provinces. With this view he made a progress into the south, to fortify the coast against the menaced invasion. It had been reported that 20,000 men had assembled at Brest, under the duke of Beaufort, in readiness to embark for Ireland, and already many of their ships had been seen off Bantry Bay, Crookhaven, and other near roads. The duke was received by the nobility and gentry on the borders of their several counties on his way. He had already sent round his orders, and transmitted a supply of arms and accoutrements, and now reviewed the corps which were assembled for his orders, to the amount of two thousand foot and three thousand horse.

The duke's efforts for the benefit of Ireland were much impeded by the entire disregard which prevailed upon the subject in the English council and parliament; while the influence of the duke, which had in some measure tended to counteract this neglect was fast diminishing under the zealous animosity of the powerful faction of his enemy, Buckingham, seconded by all the most leading and influential persons of that intriguing and profligate court, the seat of all dishonour and corruption. There the duke was feared by the king and detested by the base and underplotting courtiers who surrounded him; and among their favourite aims, the principal was an unremitting cabal against one who could not be other than an enemy to all their wishes. No occasion was lost to thwart his measures, to defeat his proposals, to calumniate his conduct, and misrepresent his character: all this the king, whose defect was not that of just observation, saw; but he was too indolent and remiss, and too much alive to the influence of his worthless creatures, to resist being carried away by the falsehood and baseness which was the atmosphere in which he breathed; and the further he departed from the paths of discretion and prudence, the more he became impatient of the awe which the duke's character impressed, and anxious to throw it off. Such was the undercurrent which was steadily resisting and preventing the policy of the duke's administration in Ireland. The progress of the national prosperity, which must necessarily be dependent upon the growth of its resources, was arrested in its infancy, and just at the trying moment, when the country had emerged from the very jaws of ruin, by a most unprincipled and ignorant measure. The stagnation of trade was general; the blow received by the landed interest was but the propagation of the same stroke; and the duke, making efforts the most strenuous ever made by an Irish lord-lieutenant, and sacrifices far beyond any recorded in British history, was doomed to struggle vainly against the profligate indifference and corruption of the court, the ignorance of the English commons, the disaffection of the

army, and entire want of the necessary resources for the execution of the necessary duties of a governor.

Some great and permanent results could not fail to follow from the combination of so much wisdom and determination. Through good and ill report, through obstacles and hostility, the duke held on his steady and courageous course. He awakened a spirit of commercial concert and intelligence which was the nucleus of industry and future progress: he organized a better system of national defence: the spirit of the people was quieted and conciliated without the sacrifice of any principle. It was next the duke's great ambition to remedy the commercial injury which he had failed to prevent, by finding new channels for the industry and fertility of the country. Having received a memorial from Sir Peter Pett, on the manufacture of cloth, the duke resolved to give all the encouragement in his power to the proposal for the introduction of such a manufacture as might not only employ the industry of Ireland, but also under favourable circumstances, be the means of opening an advantageous foreign trade. He immediately set up an extensive manufactory of cloth in Clonmel, giving the undertakers long leases, in which he reserved "only an acknowledgment instead of rent," and employed captain Grant to engage five hundred Walloon protestant families about Canterbury to remove into Ireland, where he settled them to advantage.

Still more early and more successful were the duke's efforts for the re-establishment of the linen manufacture, first set on foot by lord Strafford, but totally arrested by the rebellion. On his first coming over, the duke sent competent persons into the Low Countries to make inquiries, and to ascertain all the best methods, as well as the laws and regulations, by which this trade was governed and promoted. He procured five hundred manufacturers from Brabant; and considerable numbers more from other places on the continent, known for their success in the linen trade. He built houses for numbers of these in Chapel Izod, where cordage, sail-cloth, and excellent linen began to be produced in abundance: at the head of this establishment he placed colonel Richard Lawrence, who also set up an extensive woollen manufacture. The duke planted another colony of manufacturers in his town of Carrick-on-Suir; and thus by great exertion and expenditure, was permanently established the greatest benefit Ireland ever received from the hand of any individual.

The heavy blow which had been inflicted upon Ireland by the prohibition act, produced its effect to the full extent that was anticipated by the duke. To relieve in some measure the great depression which it occasioned, there was little in his power—that little he performed. He purchased provisions for the government stores to the largest extent that was possible, and, in doing so, endeavoured to relieve the largest amount of distress. He also applied to the king to enlarge the commercial liberties of the Irish, by a free allowance to trade with such foreign ports as were not specially interdicted, such as the foreign plantations, appropriated by certain charters, or such as the East India, Turkey, and Canary companies. The Scotch having followed the example of England in prohibiting the importation of Irish produce, the Irish council was allowed to prohibit all importation of every article

of trade from Scotland, from which a large amount of goods had been annually imported to the great detriment of Irish manufacture. Even in the conduct of this transaction, a most miserable and paltry attempt was made by the duke of Buckingham's faction, to lay a snare for the duke of Ormonde, against whom they were at the time endeavouring to hatch an impeachment. They proposed to the king, that no special allowance for the exportation of Irish wool should be inserted in the king's proclamation, but that "it would be best to let wools go out by licence, which his Grace would resolve of;"* by which, if the duke should inadvertently be led to give such unauthorized licence, he would become subject to be impeached upon a penal statute. The duke wrote to the earl of Anglesey, noticing the impossibility of his acting upon the mere understanding of the council, which not being matter of record, would easily be forgotten and present no justification for him. Against such a mode of effecting the pretended intentions of the council he remonstrated however in vain: no further notice was taken of the matter.

The duke of Buckingham was at the head of the duke of Ormonde's enemies at court. The cause of his enmity was the firm refusal of Ormonde to be concerned in the promotion of his plans, which were neither wise nor honourable. This refusal was the more resented, as the earl of Arran was married to the niece and heir-at-law to the duke of Buckingham, who had also made a will in her favour, which he cancelled upon being disobliged by the duke of Ormonde.

The increased profligacy of the English court at this time began to have its full effect in removing all sane council from the king, who fell entirely under the corrupt influence of advisers, who carried every point by the favour of his mistresses. The earl of Clarendon was the first victim of an infamous conspiracy, and having been impeached upon accusations so false that they were even without any specious foundation in fact, he was insidiously persuaded by the king† to leave the country, by which the malignity or the craft of his enemies, who merely desired to get him out of the way, was served. Clarendon was the fast friend of the duke of Ormonde, with whom he had no reserve, and his departure was therefore inauspicious for the duke's continuance in favour. "He seems," observes Carte, "to have fallen into the very mistake (which he remarks in the character of archbishop Laud,) of imagining that a man's own integrity will support him." A common error, itself the result of integrity which finds it difficult to conceive the length to which baseness can be carried. The earl of Clarendon was also the victim of the secret intrigues of Buckingham: there was an attempt made to conciliate the duke of Ormonde's assent to the sacrifice,‡ and the king wrote him a letter, in which he told him, "This is an arrangement too big for a letter; so that I will add but this word to assure you, that your former friendship to the chancellor shall not do you any prejudice with me, and, that I have not in the least degree diminished that value and kindness I ever had for you, which I thought fit to say to you upon this occasion, because it is very possible malicious people may suggest the contrary to you."

* Carte.

† Burnet.

‡ See a letter from lord Arlington to the duke, Carte, II. 352.

The earl of Clarendon retired into France, and an attempt to carry the proceedings to an attainder, was defeated by the firmness of the House of Lords, always more slow to be warped to the purposes of either court-intrigue or popular faction, than the lower house, of which the mixed and uncertain composition has always rendered it the field of all the veering winds of influence from every quarter.

The same party which thus succeeded in removing the restraint of the earl of Clarendon's presence from the abandoned and profligate court of England, was as sedulously bent on getting the duke of Ormonde out of the way. Only anxious to watch over the sickly infancy of Irish prosperity, the duke took the utmost care to give no offence to any party of English politicians. But the duke of Buckingham was bent on the acquisition of the Lieutenancy of Ireland, and the place of steward of the household: and about the middle of October, in the same year, (1672) they contrived to draw up articles of impeachment against the duke of Ormonde, of which Sir Heneage Finch obtained a copy and sent it to him. The duke, however, had not only been upright, but being of an observing, cautious, and sagacious temper, and fully aware of the character and designs of Buckingham, he had ever preserved a guarded conduct, and, as in the instance already seen, kept himself within the letter of authority. Of the twelve articles which composed the impeachment there were but two open even to any specious doubt against him: of these, one was the trial by martial law, of the soldiers who mutinied at Carrickfergus; the other related to the quartering of soldiers in Dublin contrary to the statute 18 Henry VI. These charges are evidently too futile to be here entered upon, so as to explain their absurdity. The statute was manifestly misinterpreted, and the practice of quartering troops in Dublin followed by every lord-lieutenant that had ever been there, without the least comment. As to the other articles, they manifested such utter ignorance, that the duke remarked, "that they were either put together by some friend of his, or by a very ignorant enemy:" as expressed in the articles, they were all entirely unfounded; and most of them, had they been true, were yet no offences; while others were impossible to have been committed. An attempt was at the same time made to support this attack by another, consisting of two petitions, both of which were thrown out by the House of Commons, notwithstanding the efforts of the duke of Buckingham and his party.

The mischief produced by these proceedings in Ireland was very considerable; a general sense was excited, that tortuous claimants might find strong support against the duke. The members of his government also, were so scared, that they hung back in the discharge of their duties, and shrunk from the responsibility attendant upon every exercise of the powers committed to them. The duke, with all his caution, shrunk from no legal exertion of his power, and was left to act alone, under circumstances of trying emergency. Among other things we find him at this time writing to lord Arlington:—"I have so much reason to fear this may be the aim of some, that for all I am threatened to be accused of treason, on account of giving warrants for the quartering of soldiers; yet I am so hopeful that I shall incur no such danger, and so apprehensive that, if the army should be much discour-

aged or lessened, treason and rebellion would soon show themselves, that I continue to give the usual warrants, and to compel obedience to be given to them; and so I shall do, if his majesty vouchsafe to give it his approbation!"

Irritated by defeat, and urged by the ambitious cupidity of the duke of Buckingham, the enemies of the duke of Ormonde were incessant in their attacks upon him, and it soon became evident to all intelligent observers, that the restless animosity, and the great court-influence of that party, which appeared determined on his fall, could not fail to injure him at last. The weakness and uncertainty of the king, who had no affections but for those who were subservient to his humours or inclinations, left no hope from his firmness or justice; and the duke of Ormonde, received repeated letters from his friends in England, advising him to come over himself; among these, one warning alone had in some degree the effect of exciting a sense of danger. The earl of Anglesey, who was menaced with similar accusations, received an intimation that he should not be molested if he would lend his aid in the fabrication of an impeachment of the duke of Ormonde: the earl refused and laid the entire correspondence before the duke. Still more serious was a similar communication from lord Orrery. We shall enter more into the detail of this, both because it actually determined the movements of the duke, and because it is our opinion that lord Orrery was unjustly accused to the duke; though it is, at the same time, quite apparent that the conduct of lord Orrery was not at the same time such as to render the suspicion unfounded: and we have also little doubt in the belief that he was afterwards drawn into the intrigue of the duke's enemies.

The earl of Orrery having written to desire that the duke would give him a cypher, upon receiving this, wrote a letter to the duke, dated Nov. 13, 1667, acknowledging the receipt of a letter from his excellency, communicating the articles of impeachment, and mentioning that he had been already aware of them, and adding, "and possibly that it was not without my service that you had them;" and making several comments, with which we shall not trouble the reader's attention. On November the 19th, the following letter in cypher came from the earl of Orrery to the duke:—

To the Duke of Ormonde.

" November 19th, 1667.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

" A letter this day from a good hand tells ^{Earl of Orrery} 379,
 that a ^c 31 ^h 12 ^a 29 ^r 21 ^g 11 ^e 57 against ^{Duke of Ormonde} 378 is in the hands of
 Duke of Bucks Lord Ashley I. i t t l e t o n
 118 and 112; that one 15 13 23 47 9 63 71 80 41
 is to ^{a c c u s e} 5 7 24 22 9 ^{Duke of Ormonde} 378 in 170; and that the ^{adventurers} 86 90 are to
 give the rise for it.

^{Duke of Ormonde} " 378 will do well to be watchful over the earl of ^{M e a t h e} 16 33 29 23 12 9.

" A friend this post writ to ^{Earl of Orrery} 379, that he saw the petition of the
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adventurers 86 to the ^{parliament} 406, that the acts of 17 and 18 of the last king might be made good; that they have a great many friends in ^{parliament} 406; so that it is believed, most which has been done, will be undone, and what the consequences thereof will be, God only knows.

"A good hand tells me they will *push* hard at ^{Lord Arlington} 111; and some warm whispers there are of a ^{letter} 325 which ^{Lord Arlington} 111 ^{s e n t} 25 21 13 23 in June, to ^{Duke of Ormonde} 378, of a strange nature, with which it is thought much ado will be made; and the ^{Duke of Ormonde} 378 will be upon ^{his oath} 733 846 about it, and ^{Sir G. Lane} 318, of which my friend says I should shortly hear more."

In the meantime the duke was strongly and repeatedly urged to go over to England. The earl of Orrery had also applied for a licence to leave his government, which he received. After which, the two following letters were written:—

To the Duke of Ormonde.

"Charleville, March 16, 1667.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

"I have even now by the post received the honour of your grace's letter of the 10th instant, from Thurles. I confess I was somewhat surprised when I read it; for your grace was pleased to say, by your collections from some late passages in affairs, and from the deportment of some who are understood to be my friends, and of others whom your grace is sure are my relations, some suspicions might be raised in a mind more liable to that passion than yours is, to the weakening your confidence in my profession to you.

"To which I humbly answer, that if any, who are understood to be my friends, or who certainly are my relations, have misdeported themselves towards your grace, the least favour I could have expected was, either that I might have been acquainted with the names of the persons, or with their faults, that thereby I might have been capacitated to have made them sensible of, and sorry for them; or else that the miscarriages of others, neither whose persons or offences are told me, might not prejudice me in your grace's good opinion; for I never did undertake to your grace, that all who call themselves my friends, or who really are my relations, should act in all things towards your grace, no, not so much as towards myself, as I heartily wish they would do. And since I can neither command their doings or their inclinations, it would not be consonant to your grace's usual justice and goodness, to let one who is your servant, suffer for the faults of those whom you judge are not your servants, and over whom I have no authority. I should not have thought my lord Clarendon over-just, if he should have contracted a jealousy at your grace, because my lord Arlington, who is your friend and ally, appeared against him. But this I profess to your grace, that if any who says he is my friend, or who is a relation of mine, has done, or shall do, any thing which is offensive to your

grace, and that I am acquainted with it, I will resent it at such a rate, as shall evidence to him, that whoever offends you does injure me.

"And now, my lord, I must beg your pardon, if I should think that it is not consonant to those assurances you have been pleased to give me of your favour; and of never entertaining any thing to my prejudice, till first you had told me of it, and heard what I could say on it, to have made some collections from some late passages in affairs, (which had you been inclined to suspicion, might have raised in you,) that I was not so much your servant, as really I am, and yet never have told them to me till now, and now only in such general terms, as serves only to let me know, I am obliged to your kindness, and not to my own innocency, if you do not misdoubt me. You are pleased to let me see your collections would have wounded me, but you are not pleased to allow me the means to cure myself, which my integrity would have done, had I particularly known those passages, which your grace only mentions in general. And although it is a happiness I much desire, to be so rooted in your grace's esteem, as to need only your esteem to maintain me in it; yet I confess, my lord, where I seem (at least) to be suspected, I would owe my vindication to your justice as much as to your favour. For since the insignificancy of my condition is such, that I cannot by my services merit your esteem, I am covetous to evidence, that by no ill actions of mine I would forfeit it. I do therefore most humbly and earnestly beg of your grace, that I may minutely know those passages, through which, by your collections, I might be prejudiced in your opinion, that I may derive from my innocency, as much as from your grace's favour, and unaptness to entertain suspicions, my vindication. If I did not think myself guiltless, I would not thus humbly implore of your grace to descend to particulars. And if you think I am not, forgive me, I beseech you, if I say you are somewhat obliged not to deny it; since it is at my own request, that you make me appear such to myself.

"I was in hope, since I had for above one year avoided intermeddling with any affairs but those of this province, that I had thereby put myself into no incapacity of being misunderstood by any considerable person, especially that I was below being suspected by your grace. But alas! I find, that to be held guiltless, a man must not only be innocent but fortunate too. The first depending on myself, it is my own fault if I do not attain to it; but the last depending wholly upon others, I can only say it is my trouble, but not my fault, that I must miss of it.

"Give me leave, I beseech your grace, further to say that I have of late showed myself a true servant to you; and with this satisfaction (perhaps it may be thought vanity,) that none knows it, but those who I am sure will not tell you of it, for their own sakes. For I do not consider professions of friendship, as too many in this age do; I look upon them as the most binding temporal ties amongst men, and at such a rate I endeavour to keep them; and so I shall do those I have made to your grace, whatever misrepresentations may have been made of me. For whatever confidence your grace is pleased to have of me in the close of your letter, yet till that part of it, methinks the whole complexion of it is such, as I cannot but with real grief acknowledge,

I think your grace has received some impressions to my prejudice and therefore I do not only humbly hope but also beg that you will afford me a case to clear myself by telling me particularly what you have said at my service; and then I shall not shrink but your grace will again believe me.

— MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE.

— YOUR GRACE'S OBLIGED SERVANT.

— ORMONDE.

"If it be not too great a confidence, I would humbly beg that my lady Ormonde might see whether in this letter I have begged any thing unfit for your grace to grant; for I am above expression, and return to, continue right in her good opinion."

To the Duke of Ormonde.

"Charlestown, March 16, 1667.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

"Above six hours after the post was gone from hence to Dublin, I received, by my lord Kingston's favour, the honour of your grace's letter of the 12th instant, for which, and for the leave, which your grace is pleased to give me to go for London, with the great care you have condescended to take for my patent of licence; and for a warrant for one of his majesty's ships to transport me, I pay your grace my most humble acknowledgments.

"But, my lord, how can I go for England, or indeed stay here, with any satisfaction, while the impressions of your grace's letter to me of the 10th instant, from Thurles, are remaining in me? For they are such as I can scarce mind any thing, till I have vindicated myself from those suspicions; and therefore I have suspended my journey, till I have received the honour of your grace's answer to my letter of the 13th instant. If the humble desires I have made to you in it be granted, (as I more than hope they will be, because they are just,) your grace will soon prove me faulty, or I shall soon prove I am not. If the first, I shall even in my own opinion judge myself unfit to serve this kingdom and your grace; if the last, then I shall be cheerfully ready to serve both, when I am instructed by your grace how to do it.

"There is no great doubt, but that a person of your eminency will have enemies, since one of so low a quality as I, am not, as I feel, without them; and whatever your grace's may design against you, mine will not fail to represent them to you, as things which I promote, or at least am concurring in; and therefore I am the more confirmed not to stir, till I have fully cleared myself, because, while I am under your grace's doubts, all misrepresentations of me may, with less difficulty, be received. And if while I lived a country life, and at a great distance even from the scenes of business, those who are not my friends, have had so much power by their suggestions, as to incline your grace to think it fit to write to me your letter of the 10th instant, what will they not be able to do when I am at London, if any who are not your grace's servants should attempt to prejudice you, as some, I find by your grace's letter, have already endeavoured to do?

"Possibly your grace may consider these as but speculations, and nice

ones too: but I, who am seriously concerned in what I write, and perfectly desirous, not only to keep myself innocent, but also to be esteemed so, and to avoid even the umbrages of suspicion, have judged the putting a stop to my journey, and what I have now written to be absolutely necessary. For I am the uneasiest person living to myself, while I am under the least jealousy of one, whom I truly love and honour, especially when I see I am in his suspicion: and yet the particulars on which his suspicion is grounded are not told me, nay when some of them cannot, by the strictest rules of justice, be equitably interpreted to my disadvantage.

"I know not whether those principles I act by in friendship, be different from those of other men, but I never choose to make a man my friend, whom I can suspect, or never suspect him, till I tell him expressly every one of all the particulars on which my suspicion is built, that I may soon convince him of his fault or see my own.

"I most humbly beg your grace's pardon for the freedom of this letter, since it proceeds from the duty and respect I have for your grace; and for the cause's sake be pleased to excuse the effect.

"I look upon a trust as the greatest obligation to be trusty; and if I doubt my friend before proof, I should conclude I had wronged him.

"In the last place, I beseech your grace seriously to consider, whether I can have any inducement (as some of my enemies I doubt would persuade you I have,) to lay designs against you. Can they be such fools as to fancy I would attempt to get your grace out of the government, or to get into it myself. I solemnly protest, in the presence of God, that if I could have the government of this kingdom, and that I had abilities of mind and strength of body to support it, and that there were no debts due to the civil and military lists, and a constant revenue to maintain both, yet I would refuse to undertake it; for I have seen enough of this world, to make me find a country life is the best life in it. But since the infirmity of the gout, the weakness of my parts, and the misery this unhappy kingdom seems to be plunged into, do require exceedingly greater abilities to preserve it, than ever I can so much as hope to attain unto, as I would not be so treacherous to the king, my master, to my country, and to my friends and posterity, as to seek for that authority, which must ever in my own judgment, (and I protest to God I do not dissemble,) be very prejudicial, if not ruinous, to them all.

"This much as to what concerns my own self. Now, as to what concerns my endeavours of getting any other into the government. I would fain know whom they can believe, or so much as say, I would do that for, if I had the power to do it; (for I swear I know it not myself,) yet sure he must be a man that has laid greater obligations on me than your grace had, (and such a one I vow I know not,) for whom I would lose you to oblige him. If neither of these can rationally be believed, as I hope (after what I have vowed,) they will not be; then it is less rational to fancy that I would be plotting against your grace, and yet resolve to live under your government. I should be as much a fool as a knave to do it; and such as truly know me, will not easily believe, that ingratitude is a vice I am practically addicted to.

I never yet had I have ever engaged myself in any capacity, which I and the people and themselves I am not very likely to attempt against my inclination, even I have not the power.

Perceiving therefore that if your grace's interest and mine, which is opposed to your grace's interest, were to be the interest, and mine I perceived that I was not fit for the task. You and your posterity are to reflect on history, as the kingdom does duty in history, the law I may say of us, as it is. You are in the employment of the law, and I am in the employment that ever I will assist in. In short, I cannot but say that I did never yet my own self by any thing for my friends or for myself that your grace did say me, which is more than I can promise to myself from whomsoever shall succeed you. In God's name, what can be then in it to enable my ill willers to bring me under that unhappiness I fear I am in? I do therefore, with all the earnestness and humility in the world, beseech your grace, either to free me now and for ever from it, on terms which may let you find I did not deserve it; or get me what satisfaction your grace shall think fit for my place of president of Munster, and I will pass the rest of my time in my own house in England, and never see this enchanted kingdom more. I shall taste a thousand times more delight in that retirement, than in this employment, while I am under such undoubts. Your grace knows, that as nothing but friendship can acquire friendship, so nothing but trust, and a full clearing of distrust, is an essential part of it. Let me therefore be but believed an honest man, till I am proved to be otherwise, and then I dare confidently conclude I shall be still esteemed, as I really am,

" May it please your Grace,

" Your Grace's own unalterable servant,

" ORRERY."

A subsequent letter contains the following passage: " Whatever instructions I have had to appear against your grace, they were made to a particular friend of mine, who is of the parliament of England, who employed me secretly in what he wrote or sent me, and only obliged himself to acquaint me with the persons which should accuse your grace, and with the matters of their accusation, in case I would join in both, which my absolutely refusing to do ended that negotiation; and the part I acted in it, is so far from being a generosity, (though your grace's civility is pleased to call it so) as it was but a bare duty both to your employment and to your person, besides what I do particularly owe to your grace on many accounts, so that though I had the private commendation of being above such a compulsion, yet I wanted the means to tell your grace who were your enemies, or with what arms they intended to assault you, which, as the state of things stood, I could not know, unless I knew your enemy, or were false to my promise, both of which I have a conscience to do. The being of my word and credit, which I think your grace will believe that I stand innocent of, as when your grace's love to me has manifested, and therefore I perceive, as that your grace's love to me, will be pleased to let me please him who is your enemy, which I do mean, you did absolutely get me out of the way, so that I should be no more, till I am called in.

your grace's belief, (after due proof,) as I am in my intentions, nay, I may say, as I am in my actions."

There are other letters equally strong, and the duke was quite satisfied, though there occurred many circumstances to awaken a doubt of the fairness of the earl's intentions: nor was it the least confirmatory circumstance, that the same suspicion was very general, of which the following anonymous letter may serve as an example:—"It is a good while, now, since first my lord-lieutenant hath been misrepresented here; and if reports were trusted to make good as well as draw up censures, besides the unactive humour and temper many charge against him, I am informed there are those yet behind the curtain who only wait an opportunity to join hands with the earl of Meath, to promote and strengthen a higher charge. Orrery is this night expected in town, and to lodge at my lord Conway's; and as great a master of good aspect that way, (it is my own observation indeed, but no groundless one,) as Anglesey would seem to be, it will not be long (if they can but divine or promise the least success to their prosecution,) before his grace find that gentleman discover himself another Mountmorris. We live amidst great frauds, because with persons who seem most what other than they are. I fear me I dare not promise for the secretary, what perhaps he would fain make my lord duke believe him to be, his friend. Be the inducement what it will, it is observable, a man doth ever his own business best, who trusts it not to another's management: and since his grace hath been struck at in the dark hitherto, all that have a love and service to his great integrity and merit, hold it safest, as more honourable, he should baffle their malice the same way he doth all other his great actings, even to the eyes of the world. I would not be thought now so vain, as to imagine I looked beyond what his grace doth; but with all submission I crave leave to offer, what my great duty, and as great zeal prompted me to, and that is to presume he hath more and greater enemies than he thinks he hath. The comprehensive bill hath made almost a great uproar among us; and the honest old gentry of England are so much the church's sons still, that hitherto, notwithstanding all the vigorous and powerful thereof, they have been able to suppress it: but the debate is to be resumed again next Wednesday; and then having got new strength, the secretaries expect no less than undoubted conquest; and amongst the aids promised them, I have it from good authority, that a great minister here hath undertaken his grace shall be for the toleration, and use his interest to effect it; which God forbid, that he, who never yet had blot on his scutcheon, upon any account, either in church or state, should ever have his name sullied, to be upon record among the schismatics, as an enemy to his mother, the church. But better things are believed of his grace, by all who have an honour for him; and when he comes over, no doubt this kingdom will find it."

Indorsed.—"Letter to the Duchess of Ormonde, from an unknown person, left with the porter of my lodgings, at Whitehall: received April, 21, 1668."

The protestations of the earl of Orrery do not permit us consistently, with the view we have taken of his character, to infer that he was at the time of these letters directly engaged in the conspiracy against the duke, of which there is no doubt. It is nevertheless difficult wholly to reject suspicions warranted by so many circumstances: the earl of Orrery was engaged in the strictest ties of political interest and personal friendship with the very persons from whom all danger was to be apprehended. We think it also essential to a just conclusion, to take into account the shrewd and calculating disposition of this nobleman: nor can we omit the consideration, that they who were the enemies of the duke of Ormonde were his friends, and were not unlikely either to rely on his aid, or to throw proportional inducements in his way. The duke indeed, was completely satisfied by the letters above cited, but he must have been aware of the natural effects which circumstances would not fail to produce on the earl of Orrery, and which we believe to have been the actual result—that after a struggle between his regard for the duke, and other considerations affecting his own interest, he acceded to the wishes of those who wished for his aid. He had early applied to the duke for licence to go to England, but as appears from his letters, deferred proceeding for several months: we consider the delay to have originated in the vacillation arising from the conflict of opposite purposes. But when finally he prepared to depart, it became plain enough which way the scale was inclining; and the duke of Ormonde, long urged to appear in his own behalf, at last thought it high time to confront the base but powerful faction who were actively banded for his ruin. On the 24th April he left Dublin and arrived next day at Holyhead, having committed the government to lord Ossory.

His reception in London was impressive and magnificent: numbers of the nobility and gentry went out to meet him in their coaches, and he entered the city with a large procession of rank and respectability, which would have been still more considerable but that the houses of parliament were sitting at the time, and engaged in a debate of great warmth and interest. This circumstance, though quite unsought on the duke's part, wounded the king's pride and mortified Buckingham, who nevertheless visited him immediately, and protested that he was quite unconcerned in any design to injure him. By the king he was also received with the wonted kindness, or rather respect, for the king stood in awe of the duke, who was far too dignified and frank for his regard.

The charges against the duke did not, however, long suffer him to be in doubt about the intentions of his enemies. The arrival of lord Orrery was the signal of attack. The earl of Orrery was the fast friend of the leading members of the cabal against the duke, and in addition to the remarks already made it is also with truth observed, that he had himself a strong interest in some of the most important decisions to which these charges might lead. The duke had advised the reduction of the Irish establishment, or the increase of the means for their support. Lord Orrery's interest lay in the full maintenance of the military establishment; he at once, on arriving in London, asserted that the revenue was sufficient, but that it had been misapplied. The accounts were examined, and the facts did not bear

out this assertion: the payments were found to have been for the most part essential, and fully amounting to the receipts, but two sums had been ordered by the duke, and of these one was to the earls of Anglesey and Orrery, and the other to a Mr Fitz-Gerald, but neither had been paid: the duke was on this score free from imputation. Much of the waste had however arisen from a source independent of every Irish authority, the king's own warrants, by which large sums had occasionally been disbursed in the Irish treasury. The earl of Anglesey, who was treasurer of the navy, and was involved in this charge, was found quite free from blame.

The reduction of the Munster army was in consequence decided on, and it was also considered advisable to call an Irish parliament, much to the annoyance of the earl of Orrery, as his own enemies in Ireland had been maturing charges against him as president of Munster, on an impeachment in the Irish parliament. The conspiracy against the duke and the earl of Anglesey ended in the establishment of these facts: that the revenue had not been adequately collected, and that there was a considerable arrear. It was ascertained that the expenses of the establishment had always exceeded the revenue; but that the excess had been diminishing annually during the duke's administration.*

The charges against the duke were altogether relinquished as wholly groundless; but the eagerness of his enemies' was unsatisfied, and he was still pursued with the same relentless animosity. The system of operations was necessarily changed. Failing to find a weak point for an assault upon his reputation, his virtues were turned against him: it was quickly seen by the keen eye of court malignity, that the friendship of Charles was an unwilling tribute to one whom he feared; for with the profligate respect is fear or dislike. It was therefore now resolved to render him unpopular with the king, and also to practise upon the pride of the duke himself.

The duke's own friends had advised him to resign a station which was the mark of envy and treachery. But this was a step to which there lay some very strong objections: there was in reality not a single person competent to fill his place, who could be trusted with the interests of Ireland; and the duke having given up 400,000 acres of property for the sum of £50,000, which was allotted for the payment of his creditors, was also aware that he would lose the money if he should leave the country.

During the following nine months the duke was kept in a state of suspense as to the intentions of the king. From the perusal of a considerable mass of letters and other documents, we are enabled to infer with considerable certainty the real course of proceeding which was adopted by his enemies, and sanctioned by the king with some reluctance, and not without a sense of shame: profligate and unprincipled, he was not without sagacity and good taste, and understood but too well the baseness and insignificance of those who were necessary to his vices. Failing miserably in their efforts to cast disgrace upon the duke, whose character rose *undique tutus* from their shallow and pre-

* Carte, II. 371.

proceed from the king's dissatisfaction with my service, and would inevitably bring ruin and disgrace upon me, and be matter of triumph to my enemies and dejection to my friends. Yet if I could be convinced how it would advantage his majesty to have me removed, I would, as I have always done, prefer his service and prosperity to any interest of my own. But (I said,) that without entering into panegyricks of myself, I knew nothing fit for the king to do in Ireland, which I was not as well able to do as any he could employ.

"Many other things interposed in our discourse, whereof at length the result was, that my lord Arlington said he was verily persuaded I might have the matter ordered as I would myself. When we were ready to break up that conversation, I told his lordship, 'I had long and patiently observed myself excluded from all conversations relating to Ireland; that it was not in my nature to thrust myself upon business, especially such as seemed industriously kept from me; but that on the other side, I would not willingly be thought empty of thoughts fit for his majesty's knowledge and consideration, and doggedly sit silent out of discontent.' His advice to me was, to speak freely of the affairs of Ireland with the king, and my lord keeper. Last of all, I desired him to let me know what was misliked in my conduct, which might do me prejudice with the king. He answered, that all he could observe was, that it was held a negligence in me to suffer my lord Anglesey to pervert so much of the public money as he had done; that it was evident the revenue exceeded the establishment, and yet the army was vastly in arrear. I answered that this was what I foresaw would reflect upon me in the execution of that commission, which I was told should not in the least touch me. However, it was hard to impute my lord of Anglesey's faults (if any he had committed,) to me, especially since his majesty knew that I had by express warrant commanded him to prefer the establishment to all other payments." November 21st, 1668.

"My last was of the 13th instant. That very evening I had notice the king intended the next day, at a committee of foreign affairs, to declare his resolution to change the governor of Ireland: which accordingly he did, and my lord Privy Seal to succeed. His majesty declared without any stop or hesitation (which sometimes happens in his discourse,) 'how well he was satisfied with my thirty years service to his father and himself; that the change he now made was not out of distrust or displeasure, as should appear by admitting me into the most secret and important parts of his affairs; and that nobody should have an higher or nearer place in his esteem or confidence.'" February 16th, 1668.

The king's respect for the duke of Ormonde amounts to something very like fear, he was "willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike," and after his mind was fully made up to dismiss him from his office, he waited many days and made many abortive efforts to put his plan into execution. He sent lord Arlington to him for his commission, but the duke told this lord that he had received his commission from the king's own hand, and would return it to no other. He then went to deliver it to the king who denied the message. Two days after, the duke received another visit from lord Arlington, who delivered the

same message, and received the same answer. Again he waited upon the king, who again disclaimed his message. In the next meeting of the privy council, however, he declared the dismissal of the duke, and the appointment of lord Roberts in his room. On receiving an account of this, the duke once more went to expostulate with the king, and to his surprise the king denied the entire proceeding: he then however sent a gentleman, who was a connexion of the duke's, to explain, that he had actually made the change, but denied it because he saw the duke was heated and might say something not respectful. He assured the duke that he would still "be kind to him, and continue him lord steward," and pleaded the necessity of his affairs.*

What confidence the duke of Ormonde may have felt in any assurance of the king's, we cannot say; but he shortly after received a mark of honour and respect above the power of the lying and time-serving monarch who then disgraced the throne of England to confer.

The duchess of Ormonde had repaired to Ireland to reduce the establishment which the duke had found necessary as lord-lieutenant: on her return, he went to meet her, and having stopped at Oxford, he was entertained by the university, and complimented with the degree of doctor of civil law; and the chancellorship being vacant by the resignation of the earl of Clarendon, the choice of the university fell on the duke. The university was guided in this election by the advice of Gilbert Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury, to whom this high dignity had in the first instance been offered: it was declined by the archbishop on the score of his age and great infirmities, but he assured the university that he could think of no one so fit for the office as the duke of Ormonde. We give a portion of the primate's letter: "A person whom I cannot mention, but with all characters of honour; who, besides the eminency of his birth and dignities, hath made himself more illustrious by his virtue and merits, by that constant integrity he hath in all fortunes borne to the king and church; and (which concerns them more particularly) by his love of letters and learned men. His quality will dignify their choice, his affection for them will improve his care over them, and his interest will be able at their need to support them." The duke was inaugurated with great solemnity in London, on the 26th of August, by the vice-chancellor, assisted by the bishops of Winchester, Oxford, and Rochester, with a numerous attendance of doctors of all the faculties, and members of the university, who walked in procession to Worcester house, where they were joined by the bishop of London and the archbishop of Canterbury. Here they took their places in solemn order in a large room, and the cause of the convocation having been declared, the duke of Ormonde came from a side-room, attended by the earls of Bedford, Ailesbury, Dunfermline and Carlingford, and having taken his place, was addressed in a set speech by the vice-chancellor. The duke then had delivered to him the seals of the office, the book of statutes, and the keys; and next took the oaths required on the occasion, after which the members of the university took the oaths of duty to the chancellor, and lastly, the duke made a speech, in which he thanked the university, assured the convocation of his determination to maintain their rights, preserve their

* Burnet.

statutes, encourage learning, and give his protection on all occasions to that learned body in general, and to every deserving member of it in particular.* This election does equal honour to the university and to the duke. No public body has uniformly stood so high as the university of Oxford, for the high and disinterested ground it has ever taken on every question in which principle has been concerned; and while this character is honourably exemplified in the act by which it honoured and exalted a nobleman, who was at that moment an object of rancorous persecution to the most powerful faction in the kingdom, armed with the influence of the court: it nobly attests the true character which the duke's whole life and actions maintained among the wise and good men of his age.

The duke, whose honours were for the most part hardly earned, was of a disposition to be peculiarly affected by such a mark of respect. It was his temper to sacrifice his ease and interest to the good of the kingdom; and it was to posterity that he looked for his renown. A conversation which he had about this time with a friend, may be quoted as the faithful expression of his sentiments, in connexion with a fact very remarkable through his entire history:—"He had been a little before (as he was taking a walk early in the morning with Sir Robert Southwell, in the Pall-mall,) discoursing of the vicissitudes of fortune, how it had still befallen him to be employed in times of the greatest difficulty, and when affairs were in the worst situation; how his employments had been thrown upon him without any desire or application of his own; how, when he thought his actions were most justifiable, they commonly found the hardest interpretation, and concluded at last, 'well, (said he) nothing of this shall break my heart; for however it may fare with me in the court, I am resolved to lie well in the chronicle.'" Such indeed is the sense of all the truly illustrious, the "last infirmity of noble minds," and never more truly exemplified than in this great man, to whom history, but partially true, has not wholly done justice yet. For so trying and complicated was the maze of faction with which he had to contend, and unhappily so permanent have been the animosities and prejudices, of which he was, during his life, a central mark; that all the basest calumnies, and most contemptible misconstructions of party-spirit, are still suffered to have a place in every history which aims to please a large class of the public; so that the numerous libels which were the foam and venom of the vile faction by which he was baited at this period of his life, has found but too many echoes from writers, whose injustice is the disinterested result of their prejudices, which have prevented them from deliberate and impartial inquiry. At the time of which we write, the enemies of the duke finding themselves wholly unable to establish any case to his discredit, endeavoured to avenge their failure by the most scandalous publications, full of those vague charges, that go so far with the multitude, which is ever strongly impressed by violent language and easily imposed upon by any sort of specious mis-statement. But of the numerous libels at this time published to injure the duke, it may be said that they contain in themselves the antidote for all their venom: the principles adopted by these writers, and the persons whom they put forward as deserving

* Carte, II.

of public confidence, sufficiently neutralize their accusations, or convert them into honourable testimonies of worth. Of the greater part of these the duke of Buckingham was the instigator, and of many there is stronger reason to suspect him the author. He was irritated to find the acts which had occasioned the ruin of Clarendon, insufficient to put the duke of Ormonde as wholly aside as he thought necessary for his purposes. It was a serious mortification after all his undermining, to find that there was still a presiding spirit superior to fear, and at enmity with falsehood, to discountenance his intrigues and repress his craft in council. He was therefore unremitting in raising up enemies and complaints against the duke. In these he was mostly defeated, by the extravagance or the notorious untruth of the statements; in others he gave considerable trouble and vexation. Among these latter, the most remarkable was a complaint brought forward by the earl of Meath, who charged the duke with having quartered soldiers on his tenants, in the liberties of Dublin, which he asserted to be treason; and made several allegations of oppression and injury, sustained from the duke's officers and men. He refused, however, to substantiate his charges by any proof: on inquiry it appeared that the soldiers had fully paid for every thing they had received: that the army had always been quartered in Dublin, under every government; and that the duke had not brought but found them there. These accusations being thus found insufficient, lord Meath, who was evidently instrumental to the duke of Buckingham, was sent back to Ireland to look for further proofs, and additional matter of accusation. In the end, however, he found himself compelled to apologize to the council for the insufficiency of his case: which he would not even venture to bring forward, until the duke of Ormonde himself, indignant at the propagation of groundless reports, and considering the fullest investigation as the best security for his reputation, had lord Meath summoned, and a day fixed for hearing him, and investigating the case. Lord Meath would most willingly have come forward with a strong statement, but he shrunk from the investigation.

An attack of a more artful and invidious kind was made in a pamphlet containing certain queries upon the subject of the grants of land and money which had been made to the duke. And it is not easy to conceive a more detestable tissue of injustice, sophistry, and misrepresentation. Through the entire there is an obvious appeal to the ignorance of the English public on the facts; by a daring and broad mis-statement of every one of them, which could not for a moment pass in Ireland or bear any species of investigation. The actual claims of the duke are overlooked, his legal rights passed by, the greatness of his losses unnoticed, and the abortiveness of the grants themselves dishonestly sunk: the *suppressio veri* was never more thoroughly exemplified. But these accusations were only for the ear of the multitude, they were designed to create a prejudice in the House of Commons, which it was easier to corrupt, to alarm, or to exasperate, than to convince by fact or reason. We cannot, without a far greater sacrifice of space than is consistent with the plan of these lives, enter at length into the considerable mass of accmpts and statements which would be essential to a just view of this question. Some facts we have already

mentioned; we can only sum them here very generally and briefly. One large grant, consisted merely of a confirmation of the duke's legal claims to estates which had been granted by his family, on conditions according to which they had actually reverted to the donor. The most elementary principles of the laws of property, the basis of all law, must be set aside before this can be spoken of as a grant. Yet this right, amounting to 400,000 acres, the duke resigned to facilitate the settlement, in consideration of a sum not amounting to a tenth of the value, and this was itself apportioned for the payment of creditors whose claims should have been met by the government. This small sum was never paid to the duke. A grant of £30,000 from the Irish parliament is among the imaginary gains of the duke; and doubtless it is an honourable testimony of public approbation: but if the Irish parliament really imagined that it was any thing more, they committed an oversight of considerable magnitude, as their grant was coupled with conditions which turned it into a grant to the duke's tenants, and not to himself. The whole of the remaining grants fell far short of his great losses, and were not in any case more than partially paid. We may conclude on this by extracting the statement of Carte, where the whole can be seen at a glance.

The Duke of Ormonde, creditor.

To loss of nine years income of his estate in Ireland, from October, 1641, to December, 1650, £20,000 a-year,	£180,000	0	0
To spoil, and waste of timber, buildings, &c., on it,	50,000	0	0
To debts contracted by the service of the crown during the troubles,	130,000	0	0
To seven years rents of his estate, from 1653, to 1660, recoverable from the adventurers and soldiers that possessed it,	140,000	0	0
To the value of estates forfeited to him by breach of conditions, the remainders whereof were vested in him, but given up by the act of explanation,	319,061	5	0
	£869,061	5	0
To arrears of pay as lord-lieutenant, commissioned officer, &c.,	62,736	9	8
To ditto, for fourteen months, from July, 1647, to September, 1648, at the rate of the allowance of £7893 a-year to the earl of Leicester, during his absence from Ireland,	9,208	10	0
To ditto, for nine years and four months, from December, 1660, to June, 1669,	73,668	0	0
Total of losses and credits,	£1,014,674	4	8

<i>The Duke of Ormonde, debtor.</i>		
By receipts on the £30,000 act in Ireland, . . .	£25,449	0 0
By ditto, on the grant of £71,916, . . .	63,129	10 2
By ditto, on the £50,000, granted by the explanatory act, . . .	25,156	1 11
By savings on the grant of forfeited mortgages and incumbrances, . . .	5,655	12 10
By rents received from the lands given up by the explanatory act, . . .	5,626	2 6
By houses, &c., on Kilkenny, Clonmel, &c., valued by commissioners at £540 12s. a-year, at ten years purchase, . . .	8,406	0 0
By lands allotted on account of his arrears, set at first for £1194, but afterwards improved and set in 1681 at £1594 a-year, but being subject to a quit-rent of £449 a year, their improved yearly value is but £1165 at ten years purchase, . . .	11,650	0 0
Total of profit, . . .	£146,083	7 11
Total losses and dues to the duke of Ormonde, . . .	£1,014,674	4 8
Deduct as by particular of profits, . . .	146,083	7 11
So that the duke's losses by the troubles and settlement of Ireland, exceeded his profits . . .	£868,590	16 9

This statement has the best authority, as it has been drawn not from any loose verbal account, or any individual representation prepared to meet objections, but from the careful comparison of several accounts and vouchers belonging to the actual agency of the duke's affairs, and selected from the mass of his private papers, drawn up by his agents.* They leave no doubt upon the one fact, that the whole result of all the main transactions of his public life was loss to the enormous amount of the above sum—nearly a million. The truth indeed is otherwise so apparent, that it is not easy to understand the insinuations of a certain class of historians, but by allowing largely for the fact that narrow and illiberal minds are incapable of comprehending any motives that are not low and sordid. We do not, for our own part, insist upon a perfect freedom from motives of a personal and interested nature, either for the duke of Ormonde, or any other man, as shall appear in the estimate which we shall presently have to offer of the great man who has occupied so large a portion of our notice.

The virtues which rendered the duke of Ormonde's character proof against a virulence of factious and personal animosity, armed with a degree of influence and authority under which any other person of his generation must have sunk a victim, was itself the main cause of all that enmity, and contributed to its increase during the six years which he spent in England. In this interval, the real dignity of his character was placed in a more conspicuous light than often happens in the history of eminent men. The circle in which he daily moved was

* Carte, II. p. 408.

singularly distinguished by talent and profligacy, and combined all the lofty and brilliant pretensions which, so combined, can make vice imposing and cast virtue into the shade: every aim, act, and thought, was a mockery of all grace and goodness, and the whole scene, with all its actors and actresses, was a vanity-fair of intrigue, corruption, infidelity, and indecency. Amidst this trying scene, the duke of Ormonde may be said to have "stood alone:" hated by the insolent courtier; feared by the corrupt and small-minded, but not malignant, monarch, who in the midst of his folly, weakness, and vice, had enough of natural good sense and tact to see and feel the real greatness of a servant of whom he was not worthy: an object of the most inveterate dislike to the miscreant combination of useless talents and efficient vices which ruled the ascendant at court; and of aversion and detestation to the abandoned women, whose favour was there the only road to a perverted respect and favour: the duke held his position unwarped from his high course and unabashed by the meretricious insolence of the court: neither assuming on one side the haughtiness of principle, nor on the other, condescending to countenance what he did not approve, or conciliate those whom he despised; but calmly and steadily watching for the occasion to do good, or neutralize evil. He was indeed disliked at court chiefly because he refused to countenance those degraded women, who humbled themselves that they might be exalted, in a sense widely differing from the divine precept; and the king, who was ruled entirely by these, and by persons who stooped to court their good offices, was compelled to preserve a demeanour of the utmost reserve to him, scarcely looking at him, and only addressing him when he could not avoid it. Nevertheless, he seldom failed to appear at court and take his place at the council, where he always gave his opinion frankly, and without either reserve or deference to any. Such was the general posture which he held in this interval: one far more trying to him than the embarrassments and emergencies of his official life. The remarks of his biographer on this period of his history should not be omitted:—"His grace remained for several years after in court, under great eclipse and mortifications; but, having a peculiar talent of bearing misfortunes with an invincible patience, the bystanders thought this to be the most glorious part of his life; and this was the very expression of his grace archbishop Sheldon to me on this occasion. However, in this state, he spared not to be chiefly instrumental to get the Irish innocents discharged from their quit-rents, and to free them also from satisfying the demands about the lapse-money,* &c., and to contribute in every thing to do them justice, notwithstanding their animosities against him."†

The disfavour of the court did not protect the duke from the animosity of those who lived in the sunshine of its favour; even in disgrace his greatness could not be forgiven by those to whom to be virtuous alone was a full ground for the bitterest enmity; even in adversity and neglect, he was pursued with the animosity of defeated competition; his very existence seemed to cast a shadow on their baseness; and as he could not be disgraced by calumny or impeached

* Lapse-money was a sum of money deposited, which, if the purchase of lands was not completed by a certain time, was to be forfeited by the act of settlement.

† Southwell.

by real chicaneries, nothing remained but assassination. We may here instance the attempt to assassinate him by Blood, who, there is little doubt, was in the pay of Buckingham, although something may be allowed for private enmity. Enmity alone, when the cause is considered, would not have been sufficient to induce an attempt of such singular desperation: the prosecution of Blood, as an active ring-leader of insurrection by the lord-lieutenant, was so merely official, that it was in a great measure divested of all personal character.

The duke had attended the prince of Orange to an entertainment made for him by the city of London, and was on his return home. The hour was late, and the night dark; he had reached St James' street, at the end of which he then resided in Clarendon house; his six footmen, who ordinarily walked on the street on each side of his coach, had loitered, and there was nobody near but the coachman, when suddenly as the coach entered the Hay Market, (then a road,) it was surrounded by five horsemen: they dragged the duke from the carriage, and mounted him on a horse behind the rider, who was a large and strong man. The coachman drove as fast as he could to Clarendon house, which was fortunately at hand, and there gave an alarm to the porter, and to a Mr James Clarke, who was waiting in the court; these immediately gave chase, and ordered the other servants to follow as fast as they could. In the mean time the mysterious horsemen pursued their way: they could have killed the duke with ease, and made their escape in the darkness of the night, but the inveterate temper of Blood, or of his employer, was unsatisfied with such a simple execution of their intent. It was perhaps thought that assassination would lose its atrocity by using the implements of public justice; whatever was the feeling, Blood determined to hang the duke at Tyburn. This resolution saved the duke; preserving his usual composure, he calculated that he should be pursued, and judged that the principal chance in his favour would be secured by delay. Blood rode on for the purpose of preparing the gallows. The duke availed himself of the circumstance, and by struggling violently with the miscreant who rode before him, he prevented him from going faster than a walk: they had got as far as Knightsbridge, when the duke, suddenly placing his foot under the man's, and clasping him firmly, threw himself off; and both coming to the ground, a struggle commenced in the mud, in which the duke, though at the time of this incident, in his sixty-third year, resisted all the efforts of his antagonist until lord Berkeley's porter came out from Berkeley house, before which the struggle had taken place: the duke's own servants now also came up. On their appearance, the fellow disengaged himself, and got on horseback; but before he made his retreat he fired a case of pistols at the duke. It was however too dark for an aim, and he was in too great a hurry to escape, as numbers of people had by this time taken the alarm, and a crowd was rushing together from every quarter. The duke was quite exhausted by the long struggle, and much wounded, bruised and shaken by the heavy fall, and it was found necessary to carry him home, where he was for some days confined to his bed.

The perpetrator of this daring outrage was not discovered for some

time, until an attempt to steal the crown and regalia from the Tower, led to his seizure. The king, who seems to have had some weakness in favour of dissolute characters, was curious to see Blood, and to examine him himself, and the adroit ruffian had the tact to catch the character of his royal examiner at a glance. He won his favour by the assumption of the most cool audacity, acknowledged every fact, and gave such reasons as best suited the purpose and the temper of the king. Among other things, he was asked why he attempted the duke of Ormonde's life? he answered that the duke had caused his estate to be taken away, and that he and many others had bound themselves to be revenged. He now told the king that he had been engaged with others to assassinate himself, by shooting him "with a carabine from out of the reeds by the Thames' side, above Battersea, where he often went to swim: that the cause of his resolution was his majesty's severity over the consciences of the godly [he must have had strange ideas of godliness] in suppressing the freedom of their religious assemblies; but when he had taken his stand in the reeds for that purpose, his heart misgave him out of an awe of his majesty, and he not only repented himself, but diverted his companions from their design." He then told the king, "that he had laid himself sufficiently open to the law, and he might reasonably expect to feel the utmost of its rigour, for which he was prepared, and had no concern on his own account. But it would not prove a matter of such indifference to his majesty; for there were hundreds of his friends yet undiscovered, who were all bound to each other by the indispensable oaths of conspirators, to revenge the death of any of the fraternity upon those who should bring them to justice, which would expose the king and all his ministers to daily fears and apprehensions of a massacre. But on the other side, if his majesty would spare the lives of a few, he might oblige the hearts of many, who (as they had been seen to attempt daring mischiefs) would be as bold and enterprising (if received to pardon and favour) in performing eminent services to the crown."

The effect of this bravado upon the king might well have been calculated upon: Blood was pardoned. The dastardly spirit from which this mockery of mercy proceeded, was broadly distinguished from heroic magnanimity and royal clemency, by the derogatory and disgraceful addition of a pension and of royal favour. Decorum required that the duke's consent should be obtained, and Blood was desired to write to him: lord Arlington went from the king to inform his grace that it was his majesty's desire that he should pardon Blood: the duke answered, "that if the king could forgive him the stealing of his crown, he might easily forgive him the attempt on his life,* and since it was his majesty's pleasure, that was a reason sufficient for him, his lordship might spare the rest."† Blood was not only pardoned, but had an estate of £500 a-year settled on him in Ireland, and was admitted to that inner circle of court favour, to which indeed it is to be admitted, he was no inappropriate accession. To these remarks we may here add those with which Carte concludes his account of the transaction:—"No man more assiduous than he, in both the secretaries offices.

* Carte.

† Ibid.

If any one had a business at court that stuck, he made his application to Blood, as the most industrious and successful solicitor, and many gentlemen courted his acquaintance, as the Indians pray to the devil that he may not hurt them. He was perpetually in the royal apartments, and affected particularly to be in some room where the duke of Ormonde was, to the indignation of all others, though neglected and overlooked by his grace. All the world stood amazed at this mercy, countenance, and favour, shown to so atrocious a malefactor, the reason and meaning of which they could not see nor comprehend. The general opinion was, that Blood was put upon this assassination by the duke of Buckingham and the duchess of Cleveland, who both hated the duke of Ormonde mortally, and were powerful advocates to solicit and obtain his pardon. The reason assigned by the criminal for his attempt upon the duke was considered as a mere excuse, for his grace had done nothing particularly against him, more than against others concerned with him in the same conspiracy, and put into the same proclamation. If Blood's estate at Sarney was forfeited for his treason, and upon his attainder granted by his majesty to Toby Barnes; or if his accomplices were executed after a full conviction, all this was done in the full course of government, and must have been done by any other lord-lieutenant, as well as the duke of Ormonde. Blood knew very well his own guilt, and had no reason to resent any thing in this proceeding of his grace; nor do acts merely ministerial use to produce in any, such resentments as cannot be satisfied without the assassination of a minister, who, in the discharge of his duty and the trust reposed in him by his prince, could not have spared his own father in the same case.* Carte adds several arguments to prove that there was no person so likely to be the instigator of this attempt as the duke of Buckingham. Among these, one of great weight is derived from the fact, that the designs of this splendid villain were materially interfered with by the mere presence of the duke of Ormonde. There was some discouragement in the very existence of an enemy whose character was hedged round by the respect of all the wise and good: the intrinsic value of whose opinions on every concern of importance gave him a degree of weight even in the council; and who, considering the unsettled and dangerous condition of Ireland, was still likely to be entrusted again with power, and to obtain without an effort, the restoration of those honours, appointments, and influence, which his unprincipled and in every way unworthy rival was working through a hundred dirty channels to secure for himself and his accomplices.

We must, for the present, pass by the history of Irish affairs: they are indeed of little historical interest, and may be more fully brought together in some one of the following memoirs, as belonging to the train of events and circumstances which preceded and accompanied the revolution of 1688. During this period of his life—one of court disfavour, but of honour in the better judgment of Europe—the duke of Ormonde was engaged in the council upon the consideration of all matters relative to English or foreign affairs, but entirely excluded

* Vol. II.

from the committee on the affairs of Ireland. It is true that he was appealed to by that class of the Roman catholics, who had refused to accede to the communications of their brethren with the Roman court, and who had joined in the remonstrance: there was at this time a secret court-party in favour of the views of that court, and the ultrapapists were not only favoured, but their enmity against their more moderate and loyal brethren, seconded by acts of persecution which we shall not now detail. They applied to the duke, who wrote in their favour to the lord-lieutenant, but to no other purpose but that of drawing upon himself the mortification of a slight. We here add a part of one of the duke's letters on this subject, as it sufficiently explains the whole, and places his conduct in its proper light:—"And now, my lord, that you may not judge me to be impertinent in my interposition in the matter, and in your government, give me leave to tell you, why I take myself to lie under more than the ordinary obligation of a counsellor to mind his majesty of the remonstrators, and to endeavour to free them from the slavery and ruin prepared for them for that reason, however other pretences are taken up. Some of those very remonstrators, and other of their principles are and were those who opposed the rebellious violence of the nuncio and his party, when the king's authority then in my hands was invaded, and at length expelled that kingdom, for which they suffered great vexation in foreign parts, when the fear of the usurpers had driven them out of their own country. These are the men, who, on the king's return, in their remonstrance disowned the doctrine, upon which those proceedings of the nuncio were founded; and these are the men very particularly recommended by the king to my care and encouragement, during all the time of my government. And now, I leave it to your lordship to judge, whether in duty to the king, with safety to my reputation, or in honesty to them, I can receive so many complaints of oppression from them as I do, and not endeavour that at least they may quietly enjoy their share of that indulgence which his majesty vouchsafes to others of their profession, free from those disturbances which are given them upon that account by those who abetted the contrary proceedings. I have drawn this to a greater length than is necessary, being directed to one so reasonable as your excellency, but it is my desire to acquit myself from the imputation of so mean a thing as seems to be laid to my charge, and to show that in this matter I have done nothing but what may consist with my being as I am,—My lord, &c.,

"ORMONDE."*

In 1673, the lady Thurles, mother to the duke, died at the advanced age of eighty-six. He had for some time meditated a visit to Ireland, and his determination was probably hastened by this event. He was perhaps also wearied with the long continuance of galling humiliations which he was compelled to sustain in his attendance at court, and under which any one but himself must long before have given way. By this time, at which we are arrived, these annoyances had greatly increased: so great was become the ascendance of the rout of knaves

* Carte, II.

and prostitutes, which made up the Comus court of Charles, that the duke, without any distinct quarrel with the king, was universally understood to be out of favour. No one in habitual attendance, or in any way dependent on the smiles of courtiers and their patronesses, dared speak to the lord steward, whom it was, says Southwell,* "a melancholy sight" to see walking alone along the galleries with his white rod of office. The king, who really esteemed the duke, was not exempt from this degrading influence, and was under the awkward necessity of maintaining an air of neglect towards one whom he could not help feeling to be greater than himself. The duke maintained his wonted high and grave composure in the midst of all this tinselled insignificance and varnished display of pride and scorn, and the monarch sometimes felt his own littleness and stood abashed. One day when the duke was engaged in conversation with a company of foreign noblemen who attended the court, this effect became so apparent, that the duke of Buckingham galled by the superiority of one who repaid his hate with scornful indifference, could not help stepping up to the king, and whispering in his ear, "I wish your majesty would resolve me one question, whether it be the duke of Ormonde that is out of favour with your majesty, or your majesty that is out of favour with the duke of Ormonde? for of the two, you really look the most out of countenance." In fact, the king not only avoided speaking to the duke, but constantly endeavoured to avoid his eye, "by industrious looking another way,"† though occasionally in moments of embarrassment, he would take him aside to ask his advice. One of these occasions is related by Carte, when having given the seals to Shaftesbury, he took the duke aside into the recess of a window and asked him if he did right: the duke replied, "your majesty has no doubt acted very prudently in so doing, if you knew how to get them from him again."

But to return to our narrative, the duke now came to the resolution to return to Ireland and look after his own affairs. He left Clarendon house in the beginning of June, with the duchess and family, and proceeded to Bath, of which the waters had been advised for his gout. After remaining there for a fortnight, he sailed for Waterford, and arrived there after a fair passage of twenty hours, on the 27th June, 1674. From thence he went to Kilkenny, and soon after to Dublin, in order to pay due respect to the earl of Essex, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland. But this lord, infected with the general disease of court antipathy, and offended by the popular reception of the duke by the city of Dublin, received him with a coldness which was not only felt by the duke, but noticed with general indignation. In Dublin, and still more in the county of Kilkenny, the demonstrations of public respect and affection were so remarkable as to give a full and not very gratifying refutation to the notion which had been long and industriously circulated, that he was disliked in Ireland. In Kilkenny he amused his leisure with the usual recreations of country life, having like every active-spirited person inured to rural life, a strong taste for hunting and hawking.

It was during this period of the duke's life that his eminent son, the

* Life of Ormonde.

† Carte.

earl of Ossory, the heir of his worth and talent, though unhappily not of his honours, was rising into illustrious eminence, by his distinguished services in the navy, when he rose to the rank of admiral. We shall notice the main incidents of his life in a separate memoir. But we must here take the occasion to present the reader with a new and most interesting aspect of the duke's character, which may perhaps have hitherto been looked for as an essential feature; for never in a christian country, and in the record of christian ages, has there been a character like the duke's without piety. When we look to his moderation in success, his calmness in the most trying difficulties, and his noble resignation under the combined visitations of wounding slander, the ingratitude of the court, and the embarrassment of his private affairs; when we contemplate his constant and strenuous maintenance of the protestant church, and the devotion he showed to the maintenance of those principles which he regarded as sacred, with the perfect disinterestedness shown by his ready and frequent abandonment of all those advantages which are mostly the entire aims of public men; we are compelled to look for the profound and elevated principle of a combination of wisdom and goodness, so far beyond the standard of worldly worth and wisdom, in some grace above their range. On this subject we are enabled not only to offer the valuable testimony of his old and faithful friend, Sir R. Southwell, but the still more direct proof of his own devotional compositions, which indicate a high and pure as well as fervent and zealous devotion, breathing the language of every christian grace:—"I continued," writes Southwell, "for this month with his grace, and lay so near him, as often in the night to hear him at his devotions. He had composed some excellent prayers on several occasions, which have since appeared among his papers. He would often discourse to me of the emptiness of all worldly things—of honours, riches, favour, and even of family and posterity itself." Of the prayers mentioned in this extract, we here insert that which was the fruit of the duke's affliction on the death of his illustrious son.

His prayer and humiliation on the death of his son, the earl of Ossory.

"O God, by whom and in whom we live, move, and have our being, I own and adore thy justice, and magnify thy mercy and goodness, in that thou hast taken from me, and to thyself, my dear and beloved son. My sins have called for this correction, and thou didst hold thy hand till thy patience was justly wearied by my continual and unrepented transgressions; thou gavest thy blessed Son for my redemption; and that such redemption offered on the cross for me, might not be fruitless, thou hast sent this affliction to call me to repentance, and to make me inwardly consider and behold that Saviour whom my accursed sins have nailed to the cross and pierced to the heart.

"From my childhood to my declined age thou hast made use of all thy wondrous and manifold methods of drawing me a sinner to amendment and obedience; but alas! how hitherto have they been in vain? Thou madest me prosperous and unsuccessful, poor and rich; thou broughtest me into dangers, and gavest me deliverance—leddest me into exile, and broughtest me home with honour; and yet none of thy dispensations have had natural or reasonable effect upon me: they have

been resisted and overcome by an obdurate sensuality. So that, if in thy infinite mercy thou wilt yet make any further experiment upon me, and not leave me to myself, the most heavy of all judgments, what can I expect, but that afflictions should be accumulated till my gray hairs be brought with sorrow to the grave! This, O Lord, is my portion, and it is justly due to me: I lay my mouth in the dust, and humbly submit to it; yet, gracious God, give me leave with comfort to remember that thy mercy is infinite, and over all thy works. In that mercy, and merits of my Redeemer, Jesus Christ, look upon me; turn thy face to me, and thy wrath from me. Let this sore affliction melt or break my heart; let it melt it into godly sorrow, or let the hardness of it be even yet broken by heavier calamities: however, at last return, O Lord, and heal me, and leave a blessing behind thee: the blessing of a true repentance, and a constant amendment; the blessing of fervent devotion, of universal obedience to thy holy laws, and of unshaken perseverance in the ways of thee my God.

"This I beg in the name, and for the sake of the all-sufficient sacrifice and merits of my blessed Redeemer, in the words he hath left us to pray."

During his stay in Ireland, it also happened that his third son, lord John, was married to the lady Ann Chichester, heiress to the earl of Donegal. He was created earl of Gowran; but died in the following year, owing to disease contracted by the excesses of his youth. While he was in his last illness, the duke wrote him a letter, which the bishop of Worcester described to Carte, as one of the finest specimens of moral and christian remonstrance he had ever seen. He had, however, unfortunately lost the copy of it, which he had been enabled to obtain. In relation to the dissolute habits of the same young lord, a *not* of the duke is preserved. A friend of the duke's family had built a chapel, and had solicited among his acquaintances for contributions of an ornamental nature, to set off the interior. When Mr Cottington visited the duke, he told him of his son's munificent gift of the ten commandments, for the altar-piece. The duke observed, in reply, "he can readily part with things that he does not care to keep himself."

The duke's retirement was at last to receive a temporary interruption; and whether reluctantly or not, he was doomed to be once more involved in the turmoil of affairs. The situation of the king was becoming involved in perplexity. He was by nature, and by the principles he held, unfit for the time: his religious persuasion placed him in a false position. Secretly pledged to one line of action, and to the support of one interest, he was loudly called on by the voice of Europe, and by the expectation of England, to pursue an opposite course and take a different part. He was, rather by the revolutions of European politics than by his own power, called on to act as the arbiter of the Continent; and his people expected that he should support the protestant interest. The heart of England was with the Prince of Orange, who was universally regarded as the champion of protestantism throughout Europe; while, on the other hand, Charles and his brother, the duke of York, were by every tie bound to the king of France. The king was slowly and reluctantly compelled to give way to his parliament, which he endeavoured to cajole; and some disgraceful and unconstitutional pro-

ceedings took place, during which, a breach took place between him and his minion, Buckingham, who was beginning to wax too licentious in his insolence, and too extravagant and dangerous in his freakish politics, to be easily endured by one who knew his baseness, and had only countenanced him for his companionable vices. In the midst of the perplexities of this busy period, the affairs of Ireland became troublesome, and the king felt himself compelled to have recourse to the duke of Ormonde.

The Norwich frigate was ordered to Waterford for the duke, and he, though beginning to feel the necessity of quiet to his bodily health, could not refuse to obey. It was indeed, he felt, a critical moment for the protestant interests, and his presence was wanting. At first, indeed, on his arrival in London, he was disappointed to find that the king, whose temper was the weathercock which waved with every breath of persuasion, had in that short interval fallen into a relapse of his usual feebleness: he seemed to have been sent for to be treated with neglect. He was thinking of a return to Ireland, when he was again sent for, and his advice asked on the affairs of Ireland. The principal subject to be discussed was a question on the farming of the revenue: there were two undertakers, Mr George Pitt and viscount Ranelagh; Ranelagh had been under great obligations to the duke of Ormonde, but coming over from Ireland, he joined the cabal against him. He made such representations to the king, that he obtained a contract for the management of the Irish revenue, in consequence of which great discontents were soon excited in Ireland. The people and the king soon found reason to complain; and it was thought that lord Ranelagh alone was not a loser by the contract. When the duke's advice was asked, he exposed in detail the sufferings of the Irish people, and the frauds of the undertakers. Ranelagh, irritated by such an exposure, and fearing for his suit, made a long speech at the board; in the course of which he observed, that in the course of ten years before his undertaking, the revenue had been very much mismanaged: this he repeated so often, and coupled it with so many insinuations, that the duke insisted upon his being compelled to explain himself. For this purpose he was ordered to attend at a board held for the purpose. The king was himself present, when the following conversation took place. After the lord-keeper informed lord Ranelagh that he was summoned to explain certain expressions which seemed to involve reflections upon the conduct of the duke of Ormonde: lord Ranelagh answered:—"My purpose was not to reflect on my lord of Ormonde, or any body else; but to give his majesty a state of his affairs, as they stood before my undertaking.

"Duke of Ormonde.—But your lordship was pleased to name often the word mismanagement; and if that related to the time that I governed, it must reflect upon me, and I am willing to give your lordship all manner of provocation, to speak plain in that particular.

"Lord Ranelagh.—I named nobody, but the things themselves will lead to the persons. I am content what I said be referred to a committee for examination. For if I said your majesty's affairs were mismanaged, it was true, and it plainly so appeared to your majesty, by

what I said; and I say so again, that the management was as bad as possibly could be.

"Duke of Ormonde."—Sir, I am of opinion with that noble lord, that the things themselves will find out the persons; and I also join issue with him in the expedient of a committee, and pray your majesty, that matters be transacted in writing, that what is alleged on either side may be more liable to this examination. For, I think long accounts use not to be stated by an oration; and that in such a discourse when well studied and long thought on, there may as well be conveyed in it a libel as a vindication.

"Lord Ranelagh."—My lord, I think short speeches may contain as much libel in them as long ones.

"Duke of Ormonde."—But, Sir, I desire to hear it laid to my charge, that I mismanaged your affairs. That is the thing still insinuated, though not said; and therefore I must challenge the proof of that mismanagement, or charge the informer with untruth.

"Lord Ranelagh."—Sir, I thought this had not been a place for such expressions; and I shall here find myself at some disadvantage.

"The king."—No, no,—untruth—that—

"Duke of Ormonde."—Sir, I said untruth; and there is no man whatever, who exceeds me not in quality, to whom I will not say the same, till his proofs do show the contrary. My lord was pleased to say, he named no man; but by experience of his lordship's dealings towards me, I have sufficient motives to keep me from imagining he meant any one else: and yet I presume to think, that for the time of my management there, I can show your majesty as fair accounts as any man whatsoever. And pray, my lord, since you will not name the persons, what are the things you call this mismanagement?

"Lord Ranelagh."—Sir, I call that mismanagement, when your majesty's revenue, that is intended for the public, and to the payment of your majesty's establishment civil and military, shall be diverted by private warrants, contrary to instructions, and your army thereby be left so shamefully in arrears.

"Duke of Ormonde."—Sir, if my lord can name any one private warrant issued to my proper advantage, or by my own authority, let him name it.

"Lord Ranelagh."—No, my lord, I cannot say that such warrants were to your own advantage; but I say that the private interest in such things was preferred to the public.

"Duke of Ormonde."—Why then, my lord, since you will not name one of that kind, I will; and that was a warrant to pay your lordship £1000, which was, I am sure, not to my account, but to your own. However, you brought a warrant from his majesty, who did command it, and I gave obedience.

"Lord Ranelagh."—I confess I had £1000, but it was in part of a greater debt due to my father, and all that I had for fifteen years' service.

"Duke of Ormonde."—Sir, I am well content that all these matters be referred to the examination of a committee, and I pray you give your commands to the lord Ranelagh, to put all in writing.

"*Lord Ranelagh.*—I am ready to do so whenever your majesty commands."

His lordship being withdrawn, the lord-keeper said, surely to give obedience to your majesty's commands is no mismanagement, nor ought to be reputed as such. Whereupon it was ordered that lord Ranelagh should give in a state of the fact, and the particulars of the mismanagement for the ten years before his undertaking.

Lord Ranelagh continued to spin out the time in various delays, for several months, but was at length compelled on an application from the duke to bring forth his statement. It was replied to by the duke, in a paper of considerable length, and remarkable clearness and ability.* On a full investigation of both statements before the council, the king declared the duke's statement to be perfectly satisfactory. On this head, it only remains to be added, that on the subsequent examination of lord Ranelagh's own accounts, they were not found so clear from fault, as the result was a decree against him for £76,000, and he was only enabled to escape the consequences by obtaining the king's pardon.

The discussion was in the highest degree serviceable to Ireland, as it placed before the king and council a most plain and perspicuous view of Irish affairs, and enabled them to perceive the selfish intrigues of which that kingdom had been the principal victim, with the comparative merits and demerits of the parties by whom they had been carried on; and lastly, the conspicuous integrity and wisdom of the entire conduct of the duke of Ormonde. This result was soon apparent: in the month of April, 1677, the king who, for a year had avoided speaking to the duke, sent a message that he would come and sup with him. He came accordingly: the entertainment was costly, and the conversation was gay, unrestrained and cordial; but all passed without the slightest allusion to political affairs, until the king was departing, when he signified to the duke his design to employ him again in Ireland, for the government of which he publicly declared him to be the fittest person. Of this indeed every one was fully sensible, insomuch that nothing but the baneful influence of court intrigues and interests had prevented the fact from being sooner recognised. But a court intrigue was now in effect the means of removing the obstruction which had so long withheld the king from doing justice. The duke of York, who hated the duke of Ormonde for his protestant zeal, was now alarmed by an endeavour to obtain the government of Ireland for the duke of Monmouth, whose intrigues to be declared heir to the throne of England might in the event become formidable. To avert this consequence, all other sacrifices of prejudice were slight, and none but a person of the first talent and integrity, whose appointment would satisfy the nation and arrest the expectation of the bastard prince, could be relied upon. Under this sense the duke of York not only withdrew his opposition, but it is thought lent himself warmly to the appointment of one whose character he respected, and in whose stanch and untainted honesty and firmness he had the fullest confidence.

The duke of Ormonde set out for Ireland in the beginning of August. On his way he stopped at Oxford, and was splendidly received and

* This will be found in Carte, II. 454.

entertained by the university, as its chancellor.* He had deferred his arrival until after commencements; as it was feared that he might be pressed to give degrees to many persons of rank in his train, whose pretensions were not acceptable to the university. Though the usual time was past, and the ceremonial of commencements over, many were urgent in soliciting for the honour of a degree; but the duke only created twenty doctors, one of whom was his son, the earl of Arran, and the viscounts Galmoy and Longford, Robert Fitz-Gerald a son of the earl of Kildare, and some other gentlemen of high rank, all being of his own immediate retinue.

The earl of Essex had received permission to consult his own choice, as to the manner of resigning the government; and his conduct was complimentary to his successor. He would in any other case have delivered the regalia to the lords-justices; but as he wrote in his letter of April 28th—"since his majesty hath been pleased to pitch upon a person who had so much experience in all the affairs of this kingdom, and so eminent for his loyalty, this made him stay till his grace should arrive, that he might himself put the sword into his hand;" he not only remained for the duke's arrival, but himself ordered the ceremonies with which he was to be received.

The duke had upon former occasions suffered so much vexation on account of the frauds which had been committed by those who had been entrusted with the revenue departments, that he now made it his special care to endeavour to detect and control all malversations of this description. For this purpose the king's instructions were so framed as to bring all orders concerning grants, money, the releasing or abating of agents on crown debts, under the control of English officers, after being submitted to the investigation of the lord-lieutenant. So that he was no longer liable to be made answerable for mismanagement, neglect or fraud, which he had no power to control. Other arrangements of the like effectual nature, were made to guard against the alienation of any part of the revenue, until the civil and military establishments should first be fully provided for. And by these, and a variety of wise provisions and precautions suggested or adopted by the duke, the army was brought into condition, and the whole establishment rendered efficient and economical.

During the three years which it required to effect these great and beneficial changes, the duke managed to effect many public improvements: he laid the foundation of the military hospital near Kilmahnam, and built Charlesfort to secure the harbour of Kinsale. Every fort in the kingdom was in ruin, and the expenses necessary to put the country into a state of defence, were found, on accurate inspection, to be so far beyond any means at his command, that he considered it advisable to call a parliament. Many evils were to be remedied, and many abuses in the settlements of property to be corrected, to quiet the apprehensions of the public, and repress the progress of an oppressive and exasperating chicanery on the pretence of commissions of inquiry; and the king assented to the duke's wish; but the explosion of that vile conspiracy, known by the name of the popish plot, broke out, and for a time put a stop to every other proceeding.

* Carte, II. 46.

The difficulties into which the duke was thus thrown, were not inconsiderable. The impression produced by the belief of this imposture in Ireland was likely to affect two opposite parties: there were those who would be but too ready to enter with alacrity into any disaffected action; and there were those who would give way to suspicion and terror, and exert the utmost of their influence to carry precaution to the extreme of unjust severity. Against both the duke had to guard: he took effectual means of prevention and restraint, without resorting to any harshness; and by his mild, though firm precautions, completely kept off the dangerous infection of that spurious conspiracy—the most strange compound of insane credulity and infamous perjury that stains the records of history.

In the course of these proceedings, which demand no tedious detail, the duke did not altogether escape from the usual efforts of his enemies to calumniate him, and of violent political parties to influence his conduct, according to their views. He held his course, unmoved by any petty influences or considerations, carrying progressively into effect such measures as tended to strengthen the security and the commercial interests of the country. He held an even balance without giving licence to the Romish persuasion, or lessening the security of the church of England: and so far was this spirit of moderation carried in opposition to the clamour of missionaries of every persuasion, that he was alternately accused on the opposite allegations of being a protestant, or a popish governor, as best suited the design of the opposing party: as he has himself remarked in a letter to Sir Robert Southwell:—“It hath been my fortune, upon several occasions, to be taken by the papists to be their greatest enemy, when it was thought that character would have done me the greatest hurt: and sometimes to be their greatest friend, when that would hurt me:” further on in the same letter, he writes in reference to the rumours of conspiracy against his life, by which it was constantly endeavoured to influence him; “it seems now to be the papists’ turn to endeavour to despatch me; the other non-conformists have had theirs, and may have again, when they shall be inspired from the same place, for different reasons, to attempt the same thing. I know the danger I am and may be in, is a perquisite belonging to the place I am in; and so much envied for being in; but I will not be frightened into a resignation, and will be found alive or dead in it, till the same hand that placed me shall remove me. I know well that I am born with some disadvantages, in relation to the present conjuncture, besides my natural weakness and infirmities; and such as I can no more free myself from, than I can from them. My father lived and died a papist; and only I, by God’s merciful providence, was educated in the true protestant religion, from which I never swerved towards either extreme, not when it was most dangerous to profess it, and most advantageous to quit it. I reflect not upon any who have held another course, but will charitably hope, that though their changes happened to be always on the prosperous side, yet they were made by the force of present conviction. My brothers and sisters, though they were not very many, were very fruitful, and very obstinate (they will call it constant) in their way; their fruitfulness hath spread into a large alliance, and their ob-

stinacy hath made it altogether popish. It would be no small comfort to me, if it had pleased God, it had been otherwise, that I might have enlarged my industry to do them good, and serve them, more effectually to them, and more safely to myself. But as it is, I am taught by nature, and also by instruction, that difference in opinion concerning matters of religion, dissolves not the obligations of nature; and in conformity to this principle, I own not only that I have done, but that I will do my relations of that or any other persuasion all the good I can. But I profess at the same time, that if I find any of them who are nearest to me acting or conspiring rebellion, or plotting against the government and the religion established amongst us, I will endeavour to bring them to punishment sooner than the remotest stranger to my blood. I know professions of this kind are easily made, and therefore sometimes little credited; but I claim some belief from my known practice, having been so unfortunate as to have had my kinsmen in rebellion; and so fortunate as to see some of them when I commanded in chief. Those that remain have, I hope, changed their principles, as to rebellion; if they have not, I am sure they shall not find I have changed mine."

At this period lord Shaftesbury, who was among the most violent and dangerous enemies of the duke of Ormonde, suddenly changed his party, and with them, in some measure, his grounds of hostility. For a time he was engaged in the interests of the court, and exerted his whole talent and zeal for the establishment of arbitrary power, and the unconstitutional extension of the prerogative. While thus engaged, it was his aim, as it had been that of the most licentious and unsteady, but not more unprincipled Buckingham, to unseat the duke of Ormonde, from the mere desire to obtain the lieutenancy of Ireland and his place in the court: and being himself without any religion, he made it his business to represent the duke as the enemy of toleration, and as the persecutor of the Romish church. But the king having made concessions to the Commons, which impressed him with a conviction that the line of policy he had pursued must not only fail, but eventually lead to consequences dangerous to those by whom it had been promoted and pursued, Shaftesbury at once changed sides, and with a versatility at which no one was surprised, for his character was thoroughly known, adopted the opinions and embraced the courses to which he had been most diametrically opposed: he gave most unconcernedly the lie to his whole life, in such a manner as would stamp his memory with disgrace, were it not in some measure rescued by the lax morality among the statesmen of every age. By the change he was transferred into better company, and engaged in a course more honourable and beneficial in its ends, though his motives continued as base, and the means he pursued neither more honest nor more wise. He remained as much the enemy of the duke of Ormonde as before: and as he had from the court side, endeavoured to stigmatize him as the enemy of the papists, from that of the country party he accused him of being their friend. By his violence, his daring courses, and unscrupulous assertions, he gained upon the fiery zeal and the party prejudice of the people and the house, and gained an ascendant which made him dangerous to his personal opponents, and formidable to the court. Considering the duke of Ormonde

as a main obstacle to the great design of promoting an insurrection in Ireland, he strained every nerve not only to raise a strong party against him, but to collect sufficient complaints to form articles of impeachment. He made a speech in the lords' house, in which he cast out several insinuations to the effect that the duke of Ormonde was in favour of the papists, than which no charge could at the moment be more injurious. He was replied to by lord Ossory, in a speech which attracted great celebrity, and was compelled to retract his base and unwarranted calumnies.

The duke, on learning of these movements among his enemies, pressed strongly for leave to return to England. "I am now," he writes to the secretary, "come to an age so fit for retirement, that I would be content to purchase it at any rate but that of dishonour or prejudice to my fortune and family." But the king was about to dissolve the parliament, and saw no reason why the duke should leave Ireland at a moment so critical. The earl of Arlington having mentioned to him the report that the duke was to be removed, he told him, "it was a damned lie, and that he was satisfied while he was there, that the kingdom was safe." He added that "the new ministry were for jostling out his old faithful servants, and that while the duke of Ormonde lived, he should never be put out of that government."

The object of Shaftesbury and his portion, with regard to Ireland, was mainly to contrive an insurrection; and for this purpose they set on foot every spring of action they could grasp. They were unprincipled men, who had mainly their own private interests at heart; but it would be unfair to confound a small cabal of political adventurers with the large and respectable body by whom they were supported; like the leaders of every party in every age, whose views are their own, but their strength is the public feeling, which they are compelled to serve and not unwilling to betray, if treachery will serve their ends better than good faith. Justice is due to the party, however we may estimate the partisan. The duke of York's religion at the time was the subject of great anxiety to the English public. Nor was it less the subject of apprehension to all those who were attached to the royal family. Should the duke succeed to the throne, the worst consequences were generally apprehended to the church and protestant interests of the kingdom: with more justice it was to be apprehended, that disaffection and revolutionary action would be likely to set in, to an extent dangerous to the throne. The duke alone, infatuated, rash, bigoted, and without judgment, unconscious of the real dangers by which he was surrounded, only thought to avail himself of a favourable juncture to increase the power of the crown, and to prepare the way for the greater changes of which he contemplated the execution. This feeble and narrow-minded prince did not despair of effecting a revolution in favour of his own church; and, availing him of the increasing indolence of the king, whose chief concern was the lethargic luxury of the sensual stye, to which he had converted the British court, he became alert and busy in the management of public affairs. The consequence was a strong underworking of a most dangerous reaction, to the increase and diffusion of which even those recent plots and exposures which appeared to give an advantage to the court party in reality contributed. Though

the suspicion of popish plots had been made ridiculous, and persecution hateful, and though a surface feeling of loyalty had been excited, yet the real feelings of the British public had been measured and weighed; the public attention had been excited by questions dangerous in principle and tendency; and it was made apparent to the clear-eyed and sagacious whose position enabled them to see what was working up in the councils of every party, that there must shortly be a trial of strength unfavourable to the court, perhaps fatal to the crown, still more probably to the reigning prince. Of this party, the unprincipled Shaftesbury was now the ostensible leader. However respectable was the party to which he owed his strength, the means which he adopted were worthy of himself: to produce confusion in Ireland, all the most flagitious expedients, suborned informations, pretended plots and insidious suggestions were resorted to for the purpose of compelling the duke of Ormonde to quit his impartial and all-protecting and governing policy, and to adopt that same fatal train of oppressive measures, by which Parsons and his colleagues brought on the worst consequences of the great rebellion in Ireland. And when these efforts failed to hurry the duke of Ormonde a step out of the line of moderation, humanity, and justice, in which he governed both parties without deferring to the fears or prejudices of either; a new course was adopted, and a successive train of manœuvres was put in practice, for the twofold purpose of carrying the plans of the faction which now headed the country party into effect without the duke of Ormonde's consent; and eventually forcing him to resign. With this view they proposed to remodel the privy council in Ireland, so as thus to secure such nominations as should effectually place the administration of that country in their own hands. This the king refused to permit. They then procured evidences of a plot, which went no farther than the oppression of some individuals, and shall be noticed hereafter, so far as its importance merits.

The death of the gallant earl of Ossory taking place during these annoyances, was a deep affliction, as well as a heavy prejudice to the duke. His spirit and eloquence had much contributed to repress the personal direction of their hostilities, and his death now gave an impulse to their virulence. In about three weeks after, they began to make interest for his removal, and held a consultation upon the fittest person to succeed him: there was a warm contention between the lords Essex and Halifax, which divided the party, which, however, at last agreed in favour of Essex. But this cabal had no immediate result: the king was for the moment determined to support the duke against a faction which he considered hostile to the throne. Their premature violence soon involved themselves in danger, and gave a triumph to the court. The earl of Shaftesbury began to boast openly of his expectations of a triumph over the court, and made use of unguarded expressions against the duke of York, of whom, among other things, he said "he would make him as great a vagabond on the earth as Cain." The king's party meanwhile were not wanting to themselves in a contest of deception and fraud: there was no resource too unworthy for their honour, or too base for their dignity. As Shaftesbury had fabricated a popish conspiracy, so the wisdom of the royal councils brought forth a protestant plot. It is not indeed easy to imagine a more unsafe

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